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THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS AND THE COMMUNITY, AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF A FEDERAL ANTI-POVERTY PROGRAM FOR MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

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TWO APPROACHES WERE USED IN STUDYING THE EFFECTS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS (NYC) ON MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN -- (1) IMPLICATIONS FOR THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL OPERATIONS OF ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN ITS WORK FLOW, AND (2) IMPLICATIONS FOR SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN THE YOUTH AND POVERTY AREAS (SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND ACHIEVEMENT, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT, DEPENDENCY, AND OTHERS). DATA WERE COLLECTED PRIMARILY THROUGH PERSONAL INTERVIEWS IN 41 AGENCIES INVOLVED IN THE NYC WORK FLOW, REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER AGENCIES DEALING WITH POVERTY AND YOUTH PROBLEMS, AND CRITICS OF ESTABLISHED AGENCY SERVICES. THE TWO NYC PROGRAMS IN MILWAUKEE ARE -- (1) A PROGRAM FOR IN-SCHOOL YOUTH SPONSORED BY THE MILWAUKEE SCHOOL BOARD IN OPERATION SINCE SPRING 1965, AND (2) A PROGRAM FOR OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH SPONSORED BY THE MILWAUKEE COUNTY GOVERNMENT, OPERATING SINCE JANUARY 1966. AMONG THE COMMON FINDINGS ARE -- (1) POLITICAL INTERFERENCE WITH AGENCY INTERNAL OPERATIONS HAS BEEN NEGLIGIBLE, (2) THE PRESENCE OF ENROLLEES IN AN AGENCY TENDS TO INCREASE THAT AGENCY'S EFFECTIVENESS IN COMPLETING ITS TASKS, (3) SCHOOL OFFICIALS BELIEVE NYC IS USEFUL IN IMPROVING ATTENDANCE, PERFORMANCE, AND BEHAVIOR OF MILDLY PROBLEMATIC YOUTH, AND (4) NYC BOTH CONTRIBUTES TO AND SUFFERS FROM THE RELATIVE DISORGANIZATION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES. (ET)

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Please return to
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THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS AND THE COMMUNITY

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THE NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS AND THE COMMUNITY

An exploratory study of the implications of a federal anti-poverty program for Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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Neighborhood Youth Corps
United States Department of Labor

September 1966

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CHAPTER I - INTRODUCTION

An important characteristic of the Neighborhood Youth Corps is its integral tie to local communities. The program is administered through a community agency which recruits local young persons for assignments to jobs in organizations dedicated to social and public service in that community. It is understood that projects are linked to the area's academic and vocational training institutions as well as to the local labor market. The Neighborhood Youth Corps might be considered a program whose purpose it is to improve the life chances of young persons from low income backgrounds through employment. A comprehensive evaluation of the effects of the program, however, must include more than an assessment of the effects of the program on the youth population. It is conceivable that this intervention program, so intimately tied to basic community institutions, may have important implications for the general life of the community. It is to this task -- an understanding of the implications for a community of the operation of local Neighborhood Youth Corps projects -- that the present study is directed.

The inquiry is limited to the consideration of the effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on a single community, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. That metropolitan area was chosen for study because it was readily accessible to the investigator and Neighborhood Youth Corps projects were in operation there. No a priori judgment was made to the effect that either the community or its Neighborhood Youth Crops projects were necessarily in any way exceptional. Nor was it assumed that local characteristics and the projects made the community typical. The study, then, was not defined as one which would provide a basis for generalizations regarding the effects of Neighborhood Youth Corps on communities throughout the country. For those who would be interested in effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on communities generally, the present study can do no more than identify some dimensions which may be important and suggest basic hypotheses.

In this initial portion of the report, the theoretical and methodological premises of the study will be identified and explained. The plan for the substantive chapters of the report will also be presented.

A word on the term "community" is in order. Neither in general nor social science use of the concept is there a single, precise definition. "Community" is used to describe human aggregates of various size where there is some form of interaction, communication, and organization. Sometimes the term is applied to a small group whose members are presumed to interact with one another frequently and extensively. They share some interest or fate and act with a high degree of interdependence in pursuing or reacting to that which brings them together.

In the present context "community" is applied basically to a metropolitan area. "Community" here obviously does not imply extensive, intimate, face-to-face interaction. What does make the concept applicable is the implication of interdependence. Those who live in a metropolitan area are, of necessity, somewhat bound together by geographical proximity and the sharing of a set of political, economic, educational, and other institutions. Because of the interdependence of individuals and institutions in an urban area, an external force which impinges upon some persons and organizations in that community may have widespread effects on the community. It may well also have important implications for persons and organizations <u>other</u> than those directly involved.

The term "community" may also be applied in discussing some special sectors of the population of the city. It may, for example, be useful to refer to the Negro community. Members of aggregates like this are particularly drawn together through their racial and cultural characteristics, their patterns of residential concentration, common educational, occupational, and economic problems and so on. The concentrated patterns of interaction and interdependence within this group makes it meaningful to speak of it as a community within the larger community.

The interdependence of community institutions implies that it is necessary to look broadly for effects of an intervention program on a community. Attention must be given to a number of sectors of community life.

Organization of the Study

To provide a base for tracing the effects of a program, it will be necessary to say something about the institutional network into which the intervention program is introduced. It does not seem unreasonable to assume that the effects of a new program will be somewhat dependent on the characteristics of the community into which it is introduced. The impact of a heavy rain on a city is, for example, likely to be influenced by the city's drainage and sewer systems. Preliminary attention will be directed here to the description of the Milwaukee institutions which set general limits on the effects which might be expected of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

In approaching the study of the impact of an intervention program on a community, it might appear that it would be sufficient to enumerate the diverse changes in the community which might be attributed to that program. If a study of the effects of a cloudburst on a community were to be done, that approach might be sufficient. The implications for the likes of traffic flow, retail sales, lawns and gardens, roofs, basements, drains and so on might be tallied. In the present case, such a simple cause and effect model is insufficient. Local Neighborhood Youth Corps projects are not simply introduced and administered in constant fashion by an agency of the federal government. Rather, local agencies, often acting largely on their own initiative, apply for funds to enable them to operate a project. Theoretically a variety of community agencies might apply for an Neighborhood Youth Corps project.

Even though local sponsoring agencies are required to administer Neighborhood Youth Corps projects in accord with federally prescribed guidelines, a considerable number of administrative alternatives are available to them. The sponsor may have a good deal to say about the method of recruitment of enrollees, the kinds of jobs to which they are assigned, and so on. Further, in carrying out his contract, he may be highly dependent on other community agencies for recruitment, job sites, counseling, and placement. In some cases the sponsor may have a contractual arrangement with a cooperating agency to provide him with leverage in his efforts to obtain the services he needs to operate his project. In other cases a sponsor's relationship with another agency may be completely voluntary. It cannot be assumed that a suitable sponsor may be found in every city. An adverse reaction to the Neighborhood Youth Crops from a key institutional sector in a community may also interfere with operations of projects there.

What is suggested here, then, is that the effect of a Neighborhood Youth Corps project on a community will be importantly influenced by the way in which local sponsors administer their projects and the reception the projects receive in the community. It is essential, then, that attention be directed to the peculiar product of program community interaction which emerges when a federal program is introduced into the network of institutions which exist in a community.

A study of Neighborhood Youth Corps project operations is not the basic mission of this inquiry. Some attention, however, will be given to program operations in that they contribute importantly to the manner in which the program effects the community. A section of this report will, then, be devoted to a treatment of the manner in which the Neighborhood Youth Corps concept is interpreted by Milwaukee institutions.

Two somewhat different approaches will be used here for the identification of effects of N.Y.C. on the community. In the first case, the agencies involved in the Neighborhood Youth Corps work flow will be considered. Attention will be directed both to the implications of the program for their internal operations and for their mission -- the community problems to which their services are directed. A consideration of the effects of N.Y.C. on their internal operations is important in that satisfactory administrative experience for those involved in the work flow is necessary if the program is to continue. A relatively smooth, trouble-free work flow is necessary if the Neighborhood Youth Corps is to become a permanent community program. To the extent that the Neighborhood Youth Corps helps or hinders agencies in providing services to the community, the program also effects the community. Of primary relevance here will be the on-the-job contributions of enrollees in whatever area of community service they may be employed.

In the second case, an attempt will be made to assess the implications of the Neighborhood Youth Corps for the community's attempt to cope with its youth-poverty related problems. School attendance and achievement, youth unemployment, skilled manpower shortage, public dependency, juvenile delinquency, and race conflict are all problems of concern to the community. The Neighborhood Youth Corps' relevance for the management of these problem areas will be explored.

In the case of the present study, problems will be defined according to the positions taken by spokesmen for established agencies and organized protest groups. It should be recognized that neither the establishment nor its critics may be fully knowledgeable of relevant social conditions. Even though those who are active in the public life of the community are in a position to shape public opinion, the possibility should be recognized that neither the "establishment" nor its critics may be attuned to the dominant sentiments of the community. The present study, then, is based upon the perhaps rather tenuous assumptions that those who conduct the activities of established social agencies and/or their organized vocal critics are in touch 1) with actual social conditions and 2) the dominant beliefs and values which prevail in their community.

Methodology

Procedures were defined in large part not by the dictates of the problem, but by the administrative framework in which the research was carried out. The investigator had to limit himself to what he, with limited clerical assistance, might do in a three month period. Particularly in the case of those outside of the Neighborhood Youth Corps work flow, participation of informants was entirely voluntary. Fortunately all of those contacted agreed to cooperate and were generous in making their time available. Without advance notice of the specific questions which would be asked, some informants found it difficult to answer some of the questions put to them. Since the study was conducted during the summer, persons involved in the N.Y.C. work flow only during the regular school year were sometimes hard pressed to recall specific information about the program. The investigator was also constrained by his belief that it was inappropriate for him to ask cooperating agencies to provide him with detailed records which would have been difficult to assemble or to engage in extensive and potentially embarrassing direct observations of internal operations.

A decision was made to define this study as a strictly exploratory effort. No attempt would be made to provide definitive answers to any questions. Rather the study would attempt to lay the groundwork for more exhaustive penetrating, and carefully documented investigations which might be attempted in the future. All the propositions put forward in this report should, therefore, be regarded as highly tentative. While it is hoped that the investigation has done justice to the realities of the local situation, the lack of documentation and factual data means that the present report must be interpreted with great caution.

The data for the present study were, for the most part, collected by means of personal interviews conducted with persons involved in various stages of the Neighborhood Youth Corps work flow, representatives of other agencies which deal with poverty and youth problems, and spokesmen for organizations outside the network of established agencies which are vocal critics of services offered by the "establishment". In most cases potential informants were recommended by those involved in the Neighborhood Youth Corps flow process. In other cases the investigator relied on his knowledge of local affairs in selecting potential respondents.

For the most part interviews were conducted at the office of respondents during regular working hours. The interview format was informal and loosely structured. The investigator took notes during the interviews. On the basis of these notes and memory, the investigator wrote up individual interview summaries shortly after the actual interview. These summaries did not pretend to transcribe the exact words of the respondents. Rather they attempted to organize the content of the respondents' arguments. It should be recognized that since this was an inexact procedure, the interviewer may have failed to do justice to the substance of some of his respondents' comments.

A total of 41 separate interviews were conducted. In several cases information was obtained from several individuals in an agency during the course of a single interview session. The names and positions of persons interviewed are listed in an appendix.

An important limitation of this study is that it is based on impressionistic data. Most informants readily admitted that they lacked firm data to support their observations. The effects which these persons attributed to the program obviously need not be identical to the real effects of the program. It should be recognized that these impressionistic evaluations have importance apart from the question of their validity as reflections of reality. The fact is that community agencies and their critics usually act on the basis of highly imperfect knowledge of facts. Their policy decisions are often based on impressions and anecdotes. A shortage of evidence may, in fact, not even be considered problematic by policy and opinion makers. The vast majority of those who engage in discussions of these matters of public policy are likely to be convinced of their knowledge of the substance of reality even in the absence of systematic information. When it is available, factual data may be ignored or distorted because it usually defies clearcut interpretation. Even though the ultimate concern here is with the real effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on the community, local impressions of program effects may be highly important. The continued successful operation of the program in the community may be largely dependent on the effects rightly or wrongly attributed to the program by key persons there.

Organization of the Report

The second chapter of the report will be concerned with the setting, some of the permanent characteristics of the city as well as recent developments which represent the base for the Neighborhood Youth Corps' impact. Program operations, that is, the manner in which the Neighborhood Youth Corps concept has been adapted by Milwaukee institutions, will be treated in the third chapter. The effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on organizations involved in its work flow process and implications for community's youth-poverty problems will be dealt with in the fourth and fifth chapters respectively. A final chapter will attempt to summarize the findings and suggest conclusions.

CHAPTER II - THE SETTING

It seems reasonable to assume that effects of a Neighborhood Youth Corps project will depend somewhat on the characteristics of the community into which it is introduced. In this chapter some of the potentially relevant community features will be briefly identified.

General Characteristics

In 1960, the Milwaukee metropolitan area had a population of 1,232,731. Of these, 1,036,041 lived in Milwaukee County and 741,324 lived within the limits of the city of Milwaukee. Located on the west shore of Lake Michigan, Milwaukee is approximately 85 miles north of Chicago. Part of the increasingly interdependent urban network on the southern and western shores of the Lake, the metropolitan area has grown rapidly in the past two decades.

Economically, Milwaukee is less important as a commercial center than it is for its manufacturing. Heavy industrial machinery, tools, and control systems are among its most important products. The success of the city's industry is based on a population which is well educated and well equipped with occupational skills. Flourishing industry provides a base for a high level of general prosperity. In 1960, Milwaukee ranked seventh among the country's twenty largest metropolitan areas in median family income.

By most objective standards as well as in terms of evaluations of local citizens, the basic social service institutions would probably be rated as well above average, The city may be characterized as essentially well satisfied with its public and private schools, churches, hospitals, and parks. Reflecting the city's concern with industry, the area has a large public technical high school for boys, a unique adult vocational school, and two schools of engineering. The city has two universities and several smaller colleges all of which are overshadowed by the University of Wisconsin in nearby Madison. Both municipal government and local law enforcement agencies are thought to be relatively efficient and free of corruption.

The structure of local government is such that power is rather widely diffused. The city of Milwaukee has a weak mayor, strong council system. The city shares governmental duties with a parallel county government. (The county embraces a number of villages and other municipalities in addition to the central city.) While the city assumes responsibility for streets, fire and police protection, urban renewal, zoning and libraries, county government handles public welfare, provides health and rehabilitation services to the poor and operates public parks. County government has its own elected board of supervisors and a county executive as its

chief administrative officer. The public school district for Milwaukee is identical geographically to the city limits. (Suburban communities have separate school districts.) Milwaukee's public schools are governed by a separate, elected board of directors. All city and school elections are conducted on a non-partisan basis.

While any attempt to generalize regarding the ethos of a community is hazardous, a few statements regarding the prevailing climate of the community may be useful. The vast majority of the population may be characterized as relatively hard working, orderly, and pre-occupied with personal and family affairs. The pace of life in Milwaukee is noticeably slower than is the case in nearby Chicago -- and the contrasts and conflicts of urban living appear less severe. Most of the problems which exist in large urban areas are present in the area, but they exist on a small enough scale so that they appear to be manageable.

Racial and Ethnic Groups

Ethnic groups have played an important role in the city's development and are still of considerable significance. Large numbers of German immigrants settled in Milwaukee in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Those with German backgrounds have participated extensively in public affairs in the city through the years. The relatively well developed system of public facilities in the community can be attributed to German influences. While a number of other ethnic groups have been important in the city's development, those with Polish backgrounds have continued to stand out as a large and rather conspicuous group. The Polish population is concentrated in the southern section of the city which geographically is rather distinctly separate from the rest of the community. The second, third, and fourth generation Irish, Italian, and Jewish groups in the area are relatively well assimilated into the life of the community. None of the older immigrant groups stand out as problematic at least in economic terms.

The city's Negro population has grown very rapidly in the past two decades. Between 1950 and 1960, Milwaukee's Negro population increased from 21,772 to 62,458. The city's current Negro population is estimated to be somewhat above 80,000. Much of the gain in the Negro population in the city has been attributed to migration from the rural South. The Negro population is concentrated residentially in a sector north of the downtown area. For the most part, Negroes live in older neighborhoods which were formerly predominantly German. A pattern of residential segregation exists in the city which is similar to that which prevails in other northern metropolitan areas. The fact that public schools have been organized on a traditional neighborhood basis has led to a strong pattern of de facto segregation in public schools.

Persons of Latin American origin are a second somewhat problematic minority group. In the metropolitan area they number between ten and twenty thousand. Actually two quite distinct groups are involved. Persons of Mexican ancestry have lived in the city for decades. This group is largely well assimilated in the community. Residentailly they are not con-

centrated in any one area. Most of them speak English. Much more recent in their arrival to the city are Puerto Ricans. Many if not most do not know English when they arrive in the city. For many the transition from rural and tropical Puerto Rico to an urban area with cold winters has been difficult. Puerto Ricans reside in a few rather small pockets in declining, inner-city areas. Their largest concentration is in the city's near south side.

Race Relations

A decade ago, any charge of serious civil rights problems in Milwaukee would probably have been denied by most whites and Negroes. It was taken for granted that Negroes would live in a separate section of the community. Since separation of the races in schools arose somewhat accidentally from their perspective school officials did not regard it as a problem for them. No serious evidence was available to suggest that many Negros were discontent with their employment opportunities. If anything, most white citizens of Milwaukee felt some pride in the city in that it offered Negroes a style of life apparently far superior to that available to them in the South.

Even then, however, it was clear that nearly all whites preferred to live apart from Negroes and to send their children to predominantly white schools. There were also some rumblings of discontent concerning Negroes who allegedly came to the area to take advantage of its liberal public welfare program. (While welfare benefits are relatively high, a year's residence is required for eligibility.)

Negro militancy has, of course, emerged in recent years as a significant force on a national level. The demands of national spokesmen for tne Negro cause for greater educational and occupational opportunities in northern urban areas has been applied to Milwaukee's situation. The strongest thrust of organized civil rights activities in the city has been that directed at the public schools. A group calling itself Milwaukee United School Integration Committee (MUSIC) has vigorously protested against racial imbalance in public schools. The group's biggest action was a three and one-half day school boycott in the fall of 1965. Civil rights groups also have concerned themselves with such issues as employment opportunities for Negroes, discrimination in housing, police brutality, and segregation in the Eagles Club.

The reaction of the white majority to civil rights protest actions have perhaps been even more dramatic than the protests themselves. Negro militancy has aroused extensive antagonism in much of the white population of the community. Governor Wallace of Alabama in his campaign for presidential nomination in Wisconsin's 1964 open presidential primary drew strong support from white voters in Milwaukee. A recent series of protest demonstrations in an upper-middle class suburban area by a relatively small group of civil rights workers drew much larger number of hostile whites to the scene. Eventually the National Guard was called out to protect the demonstrators from angry white spectators.

Reflecting the interests of the dominant community, the School Board has resisted demands for racial balance in the schools. The Board has held

to the position that schools should be organized on a neighborhood basis. Where it is administratively feasible the Board permits students to transfer to schools outside their district. The Board considers itself officially color blind; it will take no action officially intended either to promote or discourage racial balance.

(In an attempt to break the impass between civil rights groups and the School Board, a group of prominent businessmen and citizens calling itself "We Milwaukeeans" persuaded the School Board to share with them the cost of a major and general, year long study of the public schools by an outside educational research organization.)

Anti-Poverty Programs

Milwaukee like other communities has responded to the federal anti-poverty program. Shortly prior to the implementation of the Economic Opportunity Act, Mayor Henry Maier had successfully engineered the establishment of the Social Development Commission of Greater Milwaukee (S.D.C.) This agency's board is made up of representatives of city government, county government, public schools, vocational school, and United Community Services (the local United Fund agency). Its announced task is to engage in the planning and coordination of the public and private social service activities in the community. When the federal anti-poverty program was implemented, the Social Development Commission was designated as the local agency to house the local community action program. To accomodate the federal anti-poverty program, the Social Development Commission created under it an Economic Opportunity Board. The latter group was to consider projects prior to final approval by the Social Development Commission. The Social Development Commission has operated primarily as a clearinghouse for grant proposals submitted by other agencies (most notably the Milwaukee School Board). The Commission has been reluctant to administer action programs itself.

Federal insistance on the participation of the poor in the planning of anti-poverty programs has dominated community attention in the anti-poverty area for more than a year. After lengthy public controversy, representatives of the poor were seated on the Economic Opportunity Board. In the interest of obtaining representation of the poor on the Social Development Commission, the Economic Opportunity Board voted in the summer of 1966 to cut off approval for all anti-poverty projects under its jurisdiction until the issue was resolved to its satisfaction.

In its brief history the Commission has also experienced considerable staff problems. Since its initial executive secretary resigned in August 1965, the Commission has not succeeded in its announced intention of finding a permanent executive director. Within the past six months two acting directors have resigned.

A significant factor in the discussion of Milwaukee's formal anti-poverty program has been the emergence largely from the Negro community of a group calling itself the Organization of Organizations (or Triple O). The primary purpose of this group which has sought widespread participa-

tion of organizations and agencies working with the poor has been to gain more extensive participation of the poor in the city's anti-poverty program.

Overall, the community has not responded strongly to the federal anti-poverty program. Officials of dominant agencies do not recognize a need for a strong community action program and strongly resent any suggestion of control by an outside agency. Some agencies have welcomed the opportunity to obtain federal funds to strengthen their services which they believe to be somewhat restricted because of limited local tax resources. They like the federal government to inform them of new programs and prefer to apply directly for grants. Even more welcome would be straight federal cash grants which they could spend at their own discretion. These officials believe that most citizens including both the poor and Negroes are fundamentally well satisfied with existing social and educational services. Outspoken civil rights activists are regarded as a small unreasonable and often irresponsible group with a very limited following.

Milwaukee's dominant white population probably does not regard poverty as a serious problem with which they are to be concerned. They attribute their relative prosperity to their own initiative and hard work. Similarly the relative failure of the poor is most readily attributed to personal deficiences for which the poor themselves are primarily responsible. Attempts to attribute the problems of the poor to local social institutions are usually not sympathetically heard. The suggestion that special educational and employment opportunities be made available to Negroes, for example, would be firmly rejected.

Although Milwaukee has had no mass rioting or violence (at least on the part of Negroes), civil rights leaders and others working closely with the Negro community believe that the present situation is extremely dangerous. They sense strong feelings of frustration, impatience, and anger among Negroes. They believe that Milwaukee officials are indifferent and sometimes even hostile to them in their attempts to improve their situation. Because of previous disappointments, any conciliatory moves on the part of groups representing the dominant white majority are viewed with a high degree of suspicion.

The Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Committee (MVEEOC) is an example of an effort on the part of a portion of the white majority to ease racial tensions in the area of employment. The group founded in 1963 includes 175 Milwaukee companies who have taken a pledge to eliminate employment discrimination against Negroes. The group has sponsored a number of programs to facilitate the hiring of Negroes. According to a self survey covering 106 member firms for the period from January 1, 1964 to January 1, 1966, employment of nonwhites rose 36%. At the beginning of the period 5% of the firms' employees were nonwhite; at the end nearly 7% were nonwhite. Low rates of participation on the part of Negroes in MVEEOC sponsored job clinics and critical editorials in the Milwaukee Star (a Negro newspaper), however, suggest a skeptical reaction on the part of Milwaukee's Negro community.

In the present discussion of race relations in Milwaukee it has been assumed that those who are seen by the larger community to be civil rights

leaders do, in fact, have a significant following. The extent to which vocal civil rights activities speak for the total Negro population is a key question which cannot be answered here. It is clear that the number of private social service agencies, voluntary organizations, and church groups which operate in the Negro area is quite large. There is no shortage of persons who claim to be Negro leaders and there is limited agreement among them. Even in the case of the few who are elected officials, it is very difficult to estimate the extent of their followings. There also seems reason to believe that there is considerable competition among the Negroes and Negro organizations for recognition as spokesmen for Negro interests.

Short Term Economic Conditions

The Neighborhood Youth Corps was introduced in Milwaukee at a time when the area shared in the nation's general prosperity. In July 1966 when this study began, the unemployment rate for the metropolitan area had been estimated as 2%. The demand for unskilled workers was relatively brisk. The going hourly wages offered to full-time workers over 18 years of age were high enough so that the $1.25 payed to N.Y.C. enrollees was considerably below the community average.

Compulsory School Attendance

The Neighborhood Youth Corps and other federal anti-poverty programs were not the only institutional interventions introduced in Milwaukee which might have been expected to effect youth-poverty problems. In January 1966 a Wisconsin state law went into effect which required young Milwaukeeans to remain in school until their eighteenth birthday. Previously full-time school attendance was required only to age sixteen. Those who left school then were to attend one day a week a continuation school operated by the Milwaukee Adult Vocational School. For the majority, continuation school had been combined with an employment experience. The effect of the legislation has been to force considerable numbers of out-of-school young persons to return to academic high schools. In theory, there are no longer any out-of-school young persons under eighteen years of age in Milwaukee.

The purpose of this chapter has been to provide some basic information about Milwaukee. Program operations and their community consequences are topics for subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER III - PROGRAM OPERATIONS

The effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on a community are in large part dependent on the manner in which the projects in that community operate. Knowledge of basic program concepts as defined on a federal level and major community characteristics are insufficient as a basis for predicting the precise form which Neighborhood Youth Corps programs will take in that community. The purpose of the present chapter is to outline the manner in which the Neighborhood Youth Corps concept has been interpreted by Milwaukee agencies.

Two separate Neighborhood Youth Corps projects operate currently in the Milwaukee area. A project sponsored by the Milwaukee Board of School Directors for young persons in school has been in operation since the Spring of 1965. A program for out-of-school youth sponsored by Milwaukee County placed its first enrollees in January 1966. Since their work flow processes are entirely independent, the two programs will be separately treated here.

The In-School Program

Participation of the public schools in the Social Development Commission put the schools in a good position to learn of the possibility of sponsoring a project. (The school administration's director of pupil personnel is a Social Development Commission member.) The schools' legally defined mission of providing educational services to young persons gave them a ready supply of potentially eligible students. Further, the program promised to be the kind of supplementory service which promotes fundamental educational goals which the schools traditionally have supported. (That the public schools have long defined their mission broadly is, for example, indicated by their administration of an extensive municipal recreation program.) The school staff was confident also that it had the staff and facilities with which to administer the program efficiently.

The possibility of applying for an N.Y.C. project was initiated by the schools' administrative staff. They presented the proposal to the school board which readily approved it. From the Board's perspective, the Neighborhood Youth Corps was part of a package of federally supported compensatory education programs which the Board endorsed. Because of the limitations of local tax resources, the Board was happy to obtain federal aid for compensatory education programs. If any Board members were concerned that the acceptace of federal funds implied unwelcome federal control over local school affairs, these misgivings did not prevent Board approval of any of the federal programs.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps represents only a small portion of the School Board's rapidly increasing participation in federal programs. In 1965, federal aid to the system came to slightly less than a million dollars. An increase in federal aid to nearly six million dollars was expected in 1966. The Neighborhood Youth Corps represents $342,000 of that estimate. The federal programs brought the overall school budget to nearly seventy-three million dollars. For the development and administration of the federal programs, the schools established a new department of federal projects. It is through that department that the Neighborhood Youth Corps project is administered.

Recruitment

Recruitment of enrollees in individual schools is handled by the school welfare worker and/or another staff person assigned by the principal. No single, set recruitment procedure has been established which prevails in all schools. A base both for the allocation of N.Y.C. quotas to individual schools and the recruitment of enrollees is provided by a free book program. Students are ordinarily required to purchase their own text books. Those whose families qualify as indigent (the income criteria are roughly comparable to those for N.Y.C.), upon application receive free books with funds provided by the State Department of Public Welfare. The school welfare worker is the person designated to receive and verify applications for free books. To the extent that students from low income families take advantage of this program, potential N.Y.C. enrollees are known to school welfare workers.

In some cases students who are receiving free books are individually contacted and informed of the N.Y.C. program. General announcements and meetings have also been used to solicit interest of those interested in jobs. In these approaches to the student body at large, the eligibility limitations have not been publicized. One consequence has been that the vast majority of those responding to general appeals have proved ineligible. To a varying extent posters are also used to publicize the program. Illustrated feature articles in Milwaukee's major newspapers publicizing the in-school program assisted in the early dissemination of program information to potential enrollees.

Of some relevance for the recruitment of enrollees is a state requirement that all persons under eighteen years of age interested in gainful employment obtain a work permit from the State Industrial Commission. During the regular school year, a student's receipt of a permit is dependent on the written permission of his school principal. According to standard school administration policy, permission to work is given only to those with satisfactory attendance records and grades. (An applicant may be absent no more than twenty per cent of the time and may be failing no more than two subjects.) In some schools principals have agreed to waive this requirement for potential Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees. Some principals have delegated to school welfare workers the authority to give school permission for work permits. The general policy, however, has not been rescinded and is applied in some schools to N.Y.C. applicants.

Another structural factor effecting recruitment is Welfare Department policy concerned with the income of dependents in families receiving public assistance. Ordinarily most of what a person under eighteen in a family receiving welfare assistance earns through employment is deducted from family welfare payments. The effect of this ruling is to discourage these young persons from working. In the case of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, a special ruling has been made exempting enrollee earnings.

Because of the usual welfare ruling, those recruiting in the schools report initial resistance to N.Y.C. on the part of students whose families receive welfare assistance. It has been difficult to convince some students and their parents that enrollee wages are not deducted from welfare payments. Inexperienced case workers unfamiliar with the special status of N.Y.C. earnings have added a further complication.

In all cases N.Y.C. representatives in the schools handle the project as an extra assignment. The school welfare workers in inner-city schools who check the eligibility of N.Y.C. applicants and who are involved in recruitment indicate that even without program involvement, they carry an extremely heavy work load. The teachers and counsellors who are official representatives may also have limited time available for the project. Unless he is supervising the work of at least fifteen enrollees, the school representative receives no extra financial compensation.

Work Assignments

During the regular school year, a considerable number of enrollees are placed in jobs within their own school. Commonly they assist the general office staff, the IBM records clerk, the book store manager and so on. Concern over possible union protests has prevented assignments involving custodial work in most schools. Because they are reluctant to stay after school to supervise enrollees, few teachers have responded to invitations to request the services of enrollees.

A major stimulus to the in-school program has been provided by the availability of jobs at the area Veterans Administration Hospital. It happened that the chief personnel officer at the institution took an early interest in N.Y.C. and sought out the local sponsor. The hospital regards itself as a training institution; its staff believes that participation in a local N.Y.C. project is consistent with that mission. The first enrollees were assigned to the V. A. Hospital in December 1965. During the school year the number of enrollees at the hospital averaged approximately 110. The figure rose to 175 during the summer of 1966. A wide variety of job experiences are made available to enrollees. The largest single group works as nursing assistants. Others are assigned to work in such diverse areas as dietetics, maintenance, research, records, and physical therapy. In some cases enrollees receive considerable specialized training for their work assignment. Adding to the appeal of the V. A. job assignment is the fact that the hospital recently was moved into a large new building. A disadvantage of the V. A. is its southside location; for Negro enrollees a job assignment there is likely to require time consuming bus transportation.

At the invitation of the central school administration staff, a number of public and private agencies requested enrollees. Elementary school libraries, a neighborhood Y.M.C.A., and settlement houses are among those who take enrollees, assigning them for the most part to clerical work.

Assignments for those placed outside their high schools are made through the central office. Potential enrollees are referred to the central office for placement when they request a work assignment outside their school or no job is available for them in school.

Particularly important during the summer in providing work sites is the Milwaukee Department of Municipal Recreation which, as previously indicated, is closely linked to the public schools. During the summer of 1966, 235 enrollees were assigned there. Most of the recreation department enrollees assist with the extensive organized recreation activities offered on public playgrounds. They are asked, for example, to do light maintenance work, distribute equipment, or supervise games. A smaller number of male enrollees (32 in the summer of 1966) is assigned by the recreation department to a conservation project.

Counseling and Placement

The schools utilize their own staff resources in providing enrollees with supplementary services called for by their N.Y.C. contract. Enrollees have access to regular school counselors. The research department of the school administration is conducting an evaluative study of the Neighborhood Youth Corps. (It is school board policy to do evaluative research on all new programs.)

The placement of enrollees after they leave high school is not a major administrative problem. In some cases, enrollees are encouraged to consider college as a post high school alternative. A number of enrollees were given a "leave of absence" in the summer of 1966 so that they could participate in an Upward Bound project. The State Employment Service regularly contacts all high school seniors to inform them of their job placement services. In addition, the schools, themselves, provide less formalized job placement assistance. A number of enrollees with work assignments at the Veteran's hospital have already graduated and obtained federal civil service jobs at the hospital. Their N.Y.C. experience led directly to permanent job placement.

Enrollee Characteristics

An important matter for the understanding of the in-school program operation is the social composition of enrollees. Regretably very little systemmatic information is available. The reports of school workers suggest that N.Y.C. income criteria are literally interpreted.

Because the Milwaukee school board is officially "color blind" the schools offer no data on the racial characteristics of the enrollees.

Highly incomplete reports to Washington of Milwaukee in-school enrollee characteristics (data is available for perhaps 20% of the enrolled) show that slightly over 40% are Negro. There is no indication of racial discrimination in the selection of enrollees. The N.Y.C. representative in a school drawing students from largely middle income families with a 20% Negro enrollment did suggest the possibility that white students were reluctant to apply for the program. Although he had no concrete evidence, he suspected that students in his school tended to see N.Y.C. as a program for Negroes.

Of the over-representation of females in the program, there can be no question. Of those enrolled in the in-school program, more than two thirds have been females. Several potential explanations are available. Apart from baby-sitting, job opportunities for girls under eighteen are scarce. It is highly possible that male students interested in working tend to have a wider range of job alternatives. (For reasons cited earlier, this explanation would not apply to students whose families receive public assistance.) The fact that a high proportion of the N.Y.C. jobs, particularly in the schools, fall in the category of traditionally female work may make the program particularly interesting to girls. Highly sex-role conscious male students are probably very reluctant to do what they consider women's work. If auto-repair work, for example, would be widely available, the program might appeal more to the imagination of male students. Another possibility is that high school age females tend to be more conscientious and responsible than their male counterparts. Female students might be willing to take more initiative in pursuing N.Y.C. Similarly it is usually the case that female high school students more often identify with goals of their high school and cooperate willingly with its programs. Since N.Y.C. is closely tied to the regular school program, male students who are more inclined to be suspicious of or even hostile to any school program may shy away.

In general, it would seem to be the case that of those from low income families, the more cooperative students and/or those who take some initiative in applying for the program are most likely to be included. Particularly in the case of students who are to be assigned to work in the school, recruiters have reason to attempt to seek out enrollees who might be expected to perform well on the job. Not only because they carry a heavy work load, school representatives may be reluctant to make special efforts to bring indifferent students into the program. Educators are likely to operate on the basis of a philosophy which places heavy emphasis on the responsibility of students for their own development. Opportunities are made available, but the students must learn to use their own initiative in taking advantage of them. An N.Y.C. recruiter may, for example, believe that it is inappropriate for him to follow up on applicants who are slow to go to the Industrial Commission office to obtain required work permits. Exceptional efforts to persuade indifferent students to apply for the program may be made only by rare school representatives who are highly concerned that their N.Y.C. quota be filled.

The extent to which a poverty stigma associated with the program may discourage potential enrollees is an open question. In general

announcements about the program school officials tend to withhold information about the programs income restrictions. At the same time, it is safe to assume that interested students learn that the program is only for those from low income families. Particularly in the case of schools that draw most of their students from middle and upper-middle income brackets, it is also known that some students (and families) make an effort to conceal their modest circumstances.

While it is the case that the in-school program has usually come close to filling its enrollee allotment, it has not exhausted the population of potential enrollees. The number of enrollees is only a fraction of the number receiving free books. Representatives of other agencies working with low income youth report that they have encountered eligible high school students interested in working who claimed they did not know of N.Y.C. The extent to which the referrals of these agencies bring these youth into the program is not known.

While it is difficult to generalize about the work experiences to which the enrollees are exposed, a few broad assertions seem to be in order. As suggested earlier, enrollees are assigned to a wide range of tasks and many different work sites. The number of enrollees working together at the same task at the same location has usually been low. An important implication is that enrollees usually have a close working relationship with an adult supervisor.

Supervisors appear to be conscientious in defining their duties. Characteristically they define the situation as one in which the enrollee is to earn his wages. Generally they have no shortage of work to assign to enrollees. Some insist that they apply the same job performance criteria in supervising enrollees as they do with regular employees. Others admit that they make some allowances in dealing with enrollees. Universally there is strong emphasis on punctuality and regularity in attendance. Supervisors generally appear to be making a genuine effort to help enrollees to internalize the job performance standards which prevail in the community.

In cases in which an enrollee's job performance is unsatisfactory or in which he requests a change in assignments, program administrators frequently find it possible to transfer students to another job. A number of enrollees have been assigned to several jobs before they made a satisfactory adjustment.

As a final comment on the operation of the in-school program, it might be noted again that at the time of the study the program had been underway for nearly a year and a half. The program had been in effect long enough so that most of the administrative problems associated with the implementation of a new program had been resolved. At the same time the program was still young enough to benefit from the enthusiasum of both administrators and enrollees stemming from the program's novelty.

The Out-Of-School Program

Precedent for Milwaukee County's N.Y.C. program was set with County government's sponsorship of a "workreation" program. This locally financed

program was introduced by two county supervisors. Administered through the county park system, the program provides limited work experience for boys between 14 and 16 years of age. (The boys work four hours a day for three weeks.) After working in the morning, participants are encouraged to use the recreational facilities of the parks in the afternoon. Participants are selected from those nominated by principals of all high schools in the county. Principals are asked to name only "needy" boys. ("Need" in this case is only vaguely defined.) In 1966, the program served 800 boys.

Through its participation in the Social Development Commission, County officials were in a position to learn of the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The resolution to apply for funds was introduced by the same two supervisors who had backed the workreation program. Originally N.Y.C. was also slated to be administered by the Park Department. Eventually it was referred to the Department of Work and Training Projects, an outgrowth of the county's involvement during the Depression with W.P.A. The department's principal task is to assign, when possible, welfare recipients to public service jobs or work training programs. After a lengthy application process, the county's project was funded and began accepting enrollees in January 1966. The Neighborhood Youth Corps is one of two federal anti-poverty programs sponsored by Milwaukee County. The other is Project O.F.F., administered by the Welfare Department.

Recruitment Process

In contrast to the School Board's program, the County project is highly dependent on other agencies for the recruitment of enrollees. A primary recruiting agency for the project is the Youth Opportunity Center of the Wisconsin State Employment Service. Milwaukee's Youth Opportunity Center operates at a single downtown location which is a block away from the Employment Service. For the counsellors who deal with enrollees, N.Y.C. is only one of several courses of action which may be recommended to a young person. Immediate placement on a regular job is usually preferred by applicants. The counsellor may also attempt to interest applicants in the Job Corps or an M.D.T.A. training program. While the Y.O.C. primarily serves youth who come to the center on their own initiative, the agency does conduct a limited outreach program. Community relations workers who themselves are recruited from the low income sectors of the community are assigned the task of locating unemployed youth and referring them to the Y.O.C. When the outreach program was initiated, twelve community relations workers were hired. A budget cutback later led to a reduction to five such workers. Presently the Y.O.C. is again adding to its outreach staff.

Also important in the recruitment of enrollees is the County Welfare Department. Caseworkers have been informed of the program in their regular staff meeting. Those who handle cases involving aid to dependent children sometimes serve families with children over 18 who are living at home. Caseworkers may urge young persons who are unemployed to visit the Y.O.C. or to apply specifically for N.Y.C.

It is apparently common for girls whose mothers are on A.D.C. to have illegitimate children. When such a girl becomes an unwed mother, a separate A.D.C. file is opened for her. Young unwed mothers, then, have more immediate contact with welfare workers than do other older children living at home. As will be indicated later, welfare workers have found N.Y.C. to be a program particularly applicable for these young women.

Potential enrollees for the out-of-school program are frequently persons without any strong or stable tie to any of the major institutions of the community. They are not known to school officials or to employers. They probably do not receive unemployment compensation nor are they themselves receiving welfare payments. Some are known to a probation or parole officer, but this is likely to be only a minimal and involuntary tie to the adult world. Rarely are they active in a religious group. Even in their recreation they resist formally organized activity. These young persons are likely to be known well only by their parents or other relatives. Even those that support them are usually unable to impose more than minimal control over them. An implication of this pattern of social detachment is that these youth are extremely difficult to draw into any program like N.Y.C. which hopes to bring them closer to a normal style of adult life.

A number of community agencies attempt to work with these youth. It cannot be assumed that their staff is familiar with N.Y.C. nor is it certain that they will refer youth with employment problems to the Y.O.C. An agency with the potential to be particularly helpful in the recruitment of enrollees is the Inner-City Development Project. Funded through the city's Community-action Program, the project is sponsored by United Community Services of Milwaukee. I.C.D.P. is organized on a neighborhood basis with two inner city locations. One center is located in the Negro community; the second is close to Latin Americans and other low-income Southside residents. I.C.D.P. was originally intended as a referral unit which would help low income persons find agencies who could assist them in finding solutions to their multiple problems. The project has its own staff of neighborhood workers designated to do outreach work. At least theoretically, I.C.D.P. could be doing much to refer youth to the Y.O.C. or directly to N.Y.C.

Work Assignments and Other Services

Most work sites for enrollees are scattered through the departments of county government. Some are assigned to work for the city of Milwaukee's public libraries. The largest number of enrollees is assigned to the Milwaukee County Institutions which include a general hospital and facilities for the care of the mentally ill. Three-fourths of the work assignments fall in the categories of nurses aids, clerical aids, and park aids.

Counselling, guidance, and placement services are provided for enrollees through the facilities of the Y.O.C. The eligibility of N.Y.C. applicants is determined by the county Welfare Department.

Recruitment Problems

Inability to fill its quota of enrollees has been the major difficulty encountered to date in the operation of the county's program. At no time has the county come close to filling the 300 positions originally alloted to it. When a budget cut reduced the quota to 150, the county still did not fill available positions. Through its first nine months of operation, 217 persons had enrolled in the program. Only 42 had completed the four month work training period and fewer than 60 were actively enrolled at the end of the first nine months of operation.

Approximately two-thirds of the enrollees were female (149 of 217). Of the females, slightly over half were unwed mothers. Two-thirds of the enrollees were Negroes; approximately five per cent were of Latin American origin.

No single simple explanation of the shortage of out-of-school enrollees presents itself. Program administrators attribute much of their problem to N.Y.C.'s strict income criteria. They are confident that more flexible eligibility criteria would have made it possible to place many more young persons in the program who would have benefited from it. The argument is put forward that in a city with costs of living as high as those which prevail in Milwaukee, present income criteria are unrealistic. Many who might well be considered poor are ineligible for N.Y.C.

The state's new law requiring school attendance to age eighteen undoubtedly reduced the pool of potential enrollees for the county program. The quota of enrollees originally alloted to the county did not anticipate this legislative development.

Another factor contributing to the program's recruitment problems was the high level of prosperity prevailing in the community. As noted earlier, unemployment in Milwaukee has been at an unusually low level. Since potential enrollees tend to regard N.Y.C. first and foremost as an income producing job, they compare it with other job alternatives. As long as a variety of jobs for unskilled workers are available which pay considerably more than N.Y.C. on an hourly and weekly basis, it is difficult to attract young persons to the program.

The explanations for the low number of enrollees suggested to this point indicate limitations on the availability of potential enrollees. It is conceivable that the demand for an out-of-school N.Y.C. program in Milwaukee at this time is much more limited than originally estimated. Alternately, however, it is possible that the need for the program exists but that limited enrollment can be attributed to defects in the recruitment system. Y.O.C. counsellors, for example, may not "sell" N.Y.C. to the extent that they might. (In its recruitment for the job corps and M.D.T.A. programs, the Y.O.C. has also failed to fill its quotas.) The Y.O.C. may not be directing its limited staff resources as much as possible to the hard-to-reach, hard-to-serve youth for whom N.Y.C. is most relevant. Unemployed and marginally employable youth may not seek Y.O.C. services to the extent that they might. Lack of knowledge of Y.O.C., disaffection with the bureaucratic aspects of its

style of operation, its downtown location, and lack of confidence in its ability and/or willingness to provide services may all contribute to keep unemployed youth away. It is also doubtful that Y.O.C.'s outreach program has begun to exhaust its potential.

Operating on the assumption that the services of Y.O.C. are insufficient, the Inner City Development Project has developed a job placement service of its own. In their direct referral service, they have not interested more than a handful of youth in the out-of-school N.Y.C. program. The extent to which I.C.D.P. itself, is in touch with hard-to-reach youth is also open to question.

Civil rights leaders apparently have not actively promoted anti-poverty programs. For the most part they have not been asked to help inform and interest the Negro community in available programs nor have they done so on their own initiative. Their interest in these programs is dampened by the fact that they were developed without involvement of the poor and they are administered by the "establishment" from which they feel alienated. In the case of the Neighborhood Youth Corps, their knowledge of program details appears very limited. Their potential for assisting in recruitment is unknown.

Since knowledge of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on the part of the general adult population in low income areas is probably very limited, it is unlikely that many unemployed youth are being urged by their adult relatives to investigate N.Y.C.

The complexities of the application procedure for out-of-school program may discourage some potential enrollees. At a minimum an applicant must make separate visits to the Youth Opportunity Center, the county welfare center, and the county courthouse before he reports for work. A trip to the county hospital for a physical examination is also required. This process, however, can be completed in a week. Waiting periods for other federal programs are usually much longer.

As noted previously, males have proved to be more difficult to recruit for the program than females. The higher proportion of females in the program may, in part, be explained by the special contact of unwed mothers with welfare workers and the particular suitability of the program for their situation. Prevailing wage rates in the community may make the $1.25 per hour more acceptable to females than males. The greater appeal of the N.Y.C. work assignments available to females may also contribute to the greater interest of females in the program.

Higher military draft quotas may have an indirect effect on N.Y.C. recruitment of out-of-school males even though most potential enrollees probably have been ineligible for military service. The draft has cut into the community's pool of unskilled laborers. The young men who remain in the community have greater employment opportunities available to them. Some potential enrollees have probably found employment in jobs for which previously they would not have qualified.

It is apparently not the case, however, that out-of-school males find it easier to find work than do females. Y.O.C. staff members

report that it is much more difficult for them to place Negro males than females. A lower degree of work motivation is suggested as an explanation for a lack of interest in N.Y.C. particularly in the case of Negro males.

An operational problem for the out-of-school program with implications for recruitment is the difficulty encountered in placing successful enrollees in county civil service positions. Civil service policies are made by an appointed commission which by design operates independently of the county's elected leaders. The commission holds firm to its established tradition of strict interpretation of a highly restrictive selection system. Persons with histories of diabetis, epilepsy, and alcoholism are, for example, ineligible for civil service appointments. The young persons who are enrolled in the out-of-school N.Y.C. program commonly come to the program with a flawed personal background. Failure to complete high school is perhaps their most frequent shortcoming. A criminal conviction is a further impediment for many. It is likely that these deficiencies made it necessary for them to turn to N.Y.C. for work experience. The job performance of some of these enrollees has been good enough to impress their supervisors with their qualifications for permanent employment. Their previous deficiencies, however, have still made it impossible for most of these youth to pass county civil service examinations. No allowance, for example, has been made to give these youth a temporary appointment until they remove an educational deficiency. Knowledge of the difficulty in obtaining permanent county jobs may both hurt enrollee morale and hinder recruitment efforts.

Post N.Y.C. Activities

The program has not been in operation long enough for any clear pattern of post-N.Y.C. activities to have emerged. As previously reported, most of those who began the program did not complete it. In many cases enrollees left the program a short time after they entered it. The explanation for their departure often is not clear. Promise of a better paying job is a factor in some cases. Some enrollees, of course, leave to enter another training program. In other cases the personal disorganization which made it difficult to stay with previous jobs leads to withdrawal from N.Y.C.

For the minority who complete their full term of employment, a permanent job with the county, a training program (e.g. M.D.T.A. or an academic program), or some other job placement in the community are possibilities. As more enrollees complete their work period, the placement phase of the program will take more distinct shape.

CHAPTER IV - EFFECTS OF N.Y.C. ON THE COMMUNITY:

1) IMPLICATIONS FOR ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED IN THE WORK FLOW

Through the organizations in a community which are involved in the operation of a Neighborhood Youth Corps project, the community is likely to feel most immediately the impact of the program. In a context in which the community effects of N.Y.C. are of primary interest, effects of the program on the agencies involved in its administration are important for a number of reasons. Continuingexistence of the program in a community will depend much on the experience with the program of those who administer it. Because the agencies involved in the N.Y.C. work flow may be among the most important basic elements in the web of community institutions, the effects of the program on the internal operations of these agencies may be considered an important part of the overall implications of the program for the community. The fact that the agencies to which enrollees are assigned for work may be providing services of vital interest to the community means that enrollees may effect the agencies' efforts to address themselves to community problems.

Effects of N.Y.C. on Internal Operations of Cooperating Agencies

The consequences of involvement with the Neighborhood Youth Corps can be expected to vary according to the nature of an agency's contribution to the program. Effects may also be perceived differentially at various levels in the agency hierarchy. In this section an attempt will be made to indicate the consequences of N.Y.C. for involved agencies and officials according to their type of contribution.

Policy-Making Boards

Both Milwaukee N.Y.C. projects are sponsored by agencies whose top policy makers are elected political officials. In both cases formal approval for participation in the Neighborhood Youth Corps was obtained from these bodies as part of the application process. Since the program has been implemented, no important feed back from the general public on N.Y.C. has been received either by the school board or the county board of supervisors. Neither the mass media, participants (or their parents), civic organizations, nor agency administrators have called upon these boards to reconsider the program. No scandal arising out of the programs' administration has been brought to their attention. Administrators have not been confronted with policy conflicts regarding N.Y.C. which they referred to their board for resolution. Newspaper coverage has been limited largely to reports of the application-funding process and features

describing work assignments. Some administrative problems have received passing attention without editorial comment. Because of their personal interest in the project, the supervisors who introduced the County's resolution to apply for N.Y.C. funds have kept themselves generally informed of program developments. The school board president regards N.Y.C. as part of the package of federally supported compensatory education programs which is difficult to distinguish from other components.

Chief Administrators of Sponsoring Agencies

Top administrators of the sponsoring agencies are in a position to see implications of N.Y.C. for their organization which are not apparent to their policy-making boards. From the perspective of Milwaukee's school superintendent, N.Y.C. is viewed largely as part of the set of federal projects which, while of apparent benefit to students, have created annoying administrative problems. Manipulating his tight budget to obtain the local funds required to match the federal grants is not easy. (For some federal programs, the local contribution is considerably greater than the ten per cent required for N.Y.C.) Where a federal grant may be used only for serving schools in low income areas, he attempts to find local funds to make the supplementary services available to all students. (This is not a problem in the case of N.Y.C.) Eventually he believes that the added expenses brought on by the various federal programs will make it necessary for the schools to look to the state legislature for authorization to raise property tax rates. That move will have serious political repercussions.

Federal programs have also strained the schools' limited staff resources. With teachers and other professional staff members in short supply, it has not been easy to find qualified replacements for those who have been removed from their regular assignments to staff federal projects.

In his view, the steady stream of administrators, investigators, and researchers calling upon the school to gather data on federal projects places excessive demands on his time and that of the entire staff. The requests of outsiders for information interfere with the ability of the staff members to execute regular assignments. Further, the visits of federal officials carry the unwelcome implication of local incompetence and/or dishonesty. (The apparent duplication of effort and lack of coordination on the part of representatives of federal agencies suggests federal incompetence.)

No reaction to the Neighborhood Youth Corps from participants or the general public has come to the attention of either the superintendent of schools or the county executive.

A favorable reaction to the contributions of enrollees has been indicated to the county executive by the heads of departments to which enrollees have been assigned. The county executive, himself, has shown interest in the program by placing enrollees in his office. He notes with interest the variation in the adjustment of the three enrollees

assigned to him. The county executive has been disappointed with the low rate of participation in the out-of-school program. He does take satisfaction, however, from the reports of favorable work adjustment of enrollees and from indications that the program has aided some in moving in the direction of permanent employment.

Union dissatisfaction with some aspects of the N.Y.C. program has been brought to his attention but has not, as yet, become a serious issue. Labor leaders have suggested that enrollees at the county institutions wear uniforms different from those of regular employees. In the welfare department it has been argued that enrollees have been assigned to work which should be done by regular employees. To date the county executive has refused to yield to these complaints. The union's top official has not taken up the county executive's invitation for a high level discussion of the union's complaints against the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Mitigating the concern of county officials over union reactions to N.Y.C. is their previous experience in negotiating with labor leaders over the work placement of welfare recipients in various departments of county government. While county officials have found it necessary to make compromises on work assignments, the county's work-training programs have survived union protests.

The county executive is unhappy with the rigidity of the county civil service commission apart from the difficulties encountered in obtaining permanent positions for enrollees. The traditional invulnerability of civil service to political influence makes it difficult for the county executive to induce that body to take a more flexible stance in its personnel policies.

Project Directors

Of strategic importance for the future development of the program in the community are the implications of N.Y.C. for the project director. In both cases management of the N.Y.C. project is an important but non-exclusive duty of the project director. The in-school project is the responsibility of the director of the Department of Federal Projects. N.Y.C. is one of several federal projects administered by that department. The out-of-school project is managed by the supervisor of Work and Training Projects. His Neighborhood Youth Corps duties are added to responsibility for the direction of several county-sponsored programs.

To the extent that these men and their subordinates take a personal and/or career interest in the projects they administer, they will themselves be effected by the apparent success or failure of their project. Since the first and foremost criterion for evaluation an N.Y.C. project is the extent to which the project's quota of enrollee positions is filled, N.Y.C. is a source of pride for in-school administrators and a problem for out-of-school administrators. The generally positive reaction to the on-the-job performance of enrollees has been a source of satisfaction for directors of both programs. In both cases, admin-

istrators can cite anecdotal evidence of individuals who from all indications have benefited greatly from their participation in the program.

Administration of both projects has proven itself to be more complex and time-consuming than anticipated. Frequent changes in directions on a federal level have created confusion and uncertainty locally. Continual shifting of federal field personnel giving directives to local officials has added to difficulties in local communication with federal offices. Application procedures are thought to be unnecessarily complex and the duration of the period in which applications are processed is considered excessive. At the time when this report was being written, the grant period for both programs had ended and programs were being continued with a limited supply of surplus funds. Renewal applications had been approved and both were confident of eventual refunding. There was some uneasiness, however, regarding the timing of the release of new funds. In the case of the county program, the number of enrollees was being allowed to dwindle pending the receipt of new funds. Generally, local officials with respect to their dealing with federal program representatives might be characterized as annoyed but not exasperated.

The county's program director is frustrated by his recruitment structure which depends heavily on the cooperation of other agencies. He believes that both the Youth Opportunity Center and the Inner City Development Project could be recruiting much more actively for the program. Lacking effective controls over these agencies and a recruitment alternative, he feels blocked in his attempts to extend the program.

As suggested previously the placement of enrollees has been a rewarding experience for program directors. Both programs have had more calls for enrollees than they have been able to fill. For school administrators, N.Y.C. has led to the development of a highly satisfactory working relationship with the Veteran's Administration Hospital. The county program director has had an increase in the number of requests for enrollees since the program began.

In short, it might be said that developments in the work flow process directly effect program directors. From those aspects of the program which appear to be working well, they derive satisfaction. Where program operations fall short of expectations, they are troubled. Even if operational problems are beyond their control, responsibility for short-comings may be assigned to them.

School Representatives

A basic implication of N.Y.C. for those in the schools who are involved in recruitment is that their work load is increased. Generally they are not relieved from other duties as a compensation for the added responsibility. Most derive some satisfaction from participation because they have a personal interest in the welfare of the low income students and believe that the program is beneficial. The orientation of the school official toward his work and N.Y.C. is likely to have substantial effect both on program operations and the implications of the

program for him. A welfare worker in any inner-city school, for example, may find himself heavily burdened in processing applications for free books and in responding to truancy cases. While he is likely to agree that it is desireable that students from low income families have an opportunity to earn some money, he may regard his responsibility for checking the eligibility of N.Y.C. applicants as an unwelcome extra duty. If others involved in the program at that school are similarly inclined, participation will be limited to motivated students who take the initiative to apply. The effect of the program for that welfare worker might largely be some addition to his already heavy load of paper work. Alternately the welfare worker may see the program as a positive tool in helping him shape student behavior. He may take the initiative in encouraging a chronic truant to join the program. Participation in N.Y.C. may be more helpful in improving the student's attendance than would the traditional threat of juvenile court action. For the school welfare worker, then, the program is an aid in working with students. If it removes some students from his case load, the net effect may be no increase in work for the welfare worker. Those involved in Milwaukee's in-school program tend to fall between these two models. The majority are perhaps somewhat more inclined to respond to those who apply than they are to seek out problem students.

To a limited extent there is a suggestion that some approach their duties from another perspective. As indicated previously some enrollees are assigned to work in their own school. In some cases recruiters are also work supervisors; in others, they may be recruiting helpers for colleague-friends. If a recruiter is primarily work oriented, he may attempt to seek out students who are most likely to do the job well. The needs of students may be of secondary importance. For such a recruiter, the effect of the program may be measured largely in terms of its implications for his work or his relationship with colleague-friends. Milwaukee school officials appear to be generally more student than job oriented in recruitment of enrollees. The fact that they can refer enrollees to the central office for assignment probably makes school personnel more willing to take enrollees they consider unlikely workers. In that case, they are not effected by enrollee job performance.

School recruiters who have internalized N.Y.C. goals tend to be frustrated by the programs rigid income criteria. They claim to know many students who could benefit from the program but whose family income makes them ineligible. Families with an alcoholic parent are cited as examples of cases in which youngpersons are often deprived of basic necessities despite a moderate family income.

Convinced themselves that the income criteria are inappropriate at least in Milwaukee, school representatives find it embarrassing to inform students from families with modest incomes and substantial financial problems that they do not qualify. Some have had to deal with parents who complained that their children were ineligible.

Youth Opportunity Center

The State Employment Service and its Youth Opportunity Center view N.Y.C. as providing a welcome additional alternative in their attempts to deal with marginally employable young persons. While the Employment Service believes it is better equipped to sponsor an N.Y.C. project than either the county or the schools, it claims that it does not hesitate to cooperate with these projects. While the schools, of course, are not formally making use of Y.O.C. services in the conduct of their program, the Y.O.C. is very important to the county.

Although the Y.O.C. staff is not in a position to know the extent to which it serves the community's hard-to-reach youth, it does know that substantial numbers of marginally employable youth come into its office seeking work. The fact that a Y.O.C. counselor believes that a youth lacks the basic skills or work habits necessary to make him employable need not imply that the young person will agree with that interpretation. From the counsellor's point of view, persuasion may not be easy in view of the difficulties encountered in simple communication with the youth. Perhaps the most effective way for a counsellor to convince a youth that he needs further training is to let the youth experience frustration in finding a job. It is to be hoped that the disappointed youth will return to the Y.O.C. with an inclination to follow a course of action recommended by a counsellor. N.Y.C. is, then, seen by counsellors as a last resort in their attempts to place youth. It provides an outlet for the otherwise unemployable youth.

While a counsellor may find N.Y.C. useful, it should be recognized that it does not address many of the Y.O.C.'s problems. N.Y.C. itself rarely brings marginally employable youth to the Y.O.C. office. (As suggested earlier, N.Y.C. is little known in the general community.) It does not bring back to the Y.O.C. the youth who fails to find satisfactory employment on the basis of the immediate placement he requested from a Y.O.C. counsellor. At least to date, the existence of N.Y.C. has not led employers to place more lucrative job orders with Y.O.C. which would make the agency's services more attractive to youth. Young people apparently continue to come to the Youth Opportunity Center only after they have exhausted all other job leads.

Welfare Workers

Among the potential referring agents for N.Y.C., the welfare worker who deals extensively with A.D.C. cases is perhaps in a position to feel most strongly the effects of the program. The implications of N.Y.C. for this welfare worker again may be highly dependent on his own orientation. Some welfare workers regard N.Y.C. as an extremely useful tool in working with young persons in welfare families. As indicated previously, the program has been utilized extensively by workers trying to help young unwed mothers move toward financial independence. Some welfare workers find it desirable to suggest specific programs like N.Y.C. to clients; they would rather not simply urge unemployed, out-of-school youth to go out and seek work. What makes N.Y.C. particularly

useful for them is the fact that earnings are not deducted from welfare payments. (Ordinarily a welfare parent is penalized in the form of a reduced welfare allowance when a child is employed.) Further welfare department clients respond positively to the immediate financial gains they see in N.Y.C. and which they do not see with more formalized training programs.

For the less aggressive welfare worker who is preoccupied with the task of processing a heavy caseload, N.Y.C. may be seen largely as an added complication in figuring welfare budgets and explaining rules to clients. Particularly for the inexperienced case worker, N.Y.C. may add confusion to an already taxing job. The welfare worker whose strongest inclination is to protect the tax paying public from the abuses of manipulative welfare clients may view N.Y.C. as another gimmick welfare families can use to take advantage of the taxpayer.

Other Youth Serving Agencies

For other agencies working with low income familites and/or youth, the Neighborhood Youth Corps as a referral possibility has had little impact. From their perspective it is one of the many specialized and limited programs available in the community. Workers in these agencies may find it difficult simply to familiarize themselves with all the services which may be relevant for their clients. Their interest in N.Y.C. has been generally dampened by the fact that many if not most of those they have referred to the program proved to be financially ineligible.

Work Stations

Agencies providing work sites for enrollees are largely pleased with the program. N.Y.C. enrollees have been well received both by top administrators and immediate supervisors. The permanent staff takes satisfaction from its belief that enrollees are being helped. Supervision of enrollees apparently contributes to the work morale of some regular employees. The opportunity to train and supervise a young assistant may enable a regular employee to see added meaning in his own work. Some older workers reportedly have taken great satisfaction from the development of a quasi parent-child relationship with an enrollee assigned to them.

The contribution of the enrollees in providing services is also appreciated. (Details of enrollee work productivity will be treated in the next section.) Generally enrollees are thought to provide services which more than compensate the agencies for their supervisory efforts. There is no question but that enrollees tend to present more personnel problems than do regular employees. In general, supervisor satisfaction with enrollee performance apparently is a function of the supervisor's expectations. The relatively few supervisors whose predisposition was to compare the enrollee with a regular employee have been disappointed.

The larger number of supervisors who were inclined to view any enrollee contribution as a bonus have been pleased with the performance of enrollees. They, in fact, have found a number of enrollees whose productivity compares favorably with that of permanent employees.

Enrollees have posed some problems for supervisors which go beyond absenteeism, tardiness, and inattentiveness. Cases were reported, for example, of a serious fight between enrollees working on a conservation project and an indiscreet remark made by a nursing assistant to a dying patient. The personnel supervisors who have to deal with these problems and for whom N.Y.C. often creates a great deal of extra work (for which they are not compensated) could, if they chose, use these isolated incidents in building a case to justify the withdrawal of their agency from the program.

Only in the case of placement of enrollees in the units of county government has there been an adverse reaction from labor unions. In these cases the union complaints were not honored, and the placement of enrollees continued as planned. In the public schools the anticipation of union reactions has prevented the assignment of enrollees to some aspects of the school lunch program, custodial, or maintenance work.

Generally the $1.25 per hour wage rate set for enrollees is not a problem for the Milwaukee agencies to which they are assigned. Salaries for permanent employees are usually sufficiently above those of enrollees so that the program is no threat to the financial expectations of the regular staff. In the case of the Milwaukee recreation department, however, the inconsistency of enrollee wages with the agency's general salary schedule has been a source of some strain. Less experienced playground directors (usually beginning college students) who supervise enrollees earn only $1.30 or 1.40 per hour themselves. There have been some complaints from these leaders to the effect that their greater responsibility entitles them to higher wages. (Experienced teachers who work as summer playground directors earn as much as $2.40 per hour.) A limited number of high school students not in N.Y.C. are hired as wading pool attendants at only $1.10 per hour. Taking some of the edge off the discontent of the other employees is the fact that enrollees are limited to twenty hours of work per week. It should also be noted that the recreation department salary schedule appears to be substandard for Milwaukee. Its directors admit that with their present rates of compensation it is difficult for them to compete for well qualified personnel.

The recreation department in conducting a conservation project with enrollees has been confronted with problems in acquiring materials. Because this project was not otherwise authorized, no funds have been available locally for the purchase of tools and construction supplies. Inability to anticipate these expenses prevented their inclusion in the N.Y.C. budget request. The project's supervisory staff has been required to search widely to borrow equipment and to find donors to provide supplies.

Placement

The placement phase of N.Y.C. has had little general effect on organizations involved. The veteran's hospital has been able to make use of the program as a device for recruiting permanent employees. A limited number of private employers in the community have hired enrollees and benefit from the skills these young persons acquired as a result of program participation. Because of its strict civil service regulations, county government has recruited only a few enrollees as regular employees. The number of persons leaving the program to enter the labor market has been so small that there is no reason to believe that N.Y.C. has had any significant impact on general employment patterns in the community. There seems reason to question whether personnel departments of major firms in the area are even aware of N.Y.C.

To some extent, N.Y.C. is useful for counsellors in preparing young persons for more specific work training programs. It is also relevant as a way of providing youth with an activity while they wait for another program to open. The extent to which N.Y.C. counselling is effective in encouraging youth to seek further training cannot yet be known. The in-school program has cooperated with "upward bound" in the interest of encouraging enrollees to consider college as a post high school alternative.

Effects of Enrollee Work Performance on Services Offered to the Public

The product of enrollee on-the-job activity may be an important aspect of the effect of the program on the community. N.Y.C. work assignments may be categorized according to whether enrollees are assigned to special projects at the work site or to assist with the normal services offered by the agency.

Normal Services

A basic guideline for enrollee work assignments is, of course, that they are not to do work of a regular employee. At the same time, they are to be given a meaningful employment activity. Most social service agencies find themselves in a position where they can use extra help of some sort. Their limited budgets make it impossible for them to hire all the staff they want. Apparently most enrollees are readily absorbed by the organizations to which they are assigned.

In the high schools enrollees are particularly helpful in aiding the office staff by typing, filing, operating duplicating machines and so on. The schools currently use an IBM system for all student records; N.Y.C. enrollees are able to be of assistance to the persons handling that operation in the schools. Some science teachers use enrollees for cleaning and maintenance of their labs. Enrollees also assist in the book store in some schools.

The contribution of enrollees in the high schools appears, then, to be primarily one in which they assist with routine administrative work. Presumably enrollees enable the school administration to do its work more effectively. N.Y.C. probably makes little if any difference for the overall instructional services offered to students, but it may make the schools somewhat more effective in executing some of the detailed aspects of its administrative responsibilities.

The Milwaukee Department of Municipal Recreation uses enrollees extensively as aids in its playground and social center programs. Enrollee contributions strengthen the offerings of the playgrounds in a number of ways. By sweeping the grounds, picking up glass, and raking ball diamonds, they make the playgrounds safer. By umpiring ball games they release the playground director to supervise the activities of other youth. When enrollees distribute equipment, they make it possible for playground users to take fuller advantage of facilities. Enrollees also assist at special summer day camps for handicapped children. They make it possible for these children to receive the close supervision they need. The recreation department operates on the premise that supervision is necessary for a successful program. The presence of N.Y.C. enrollees makes it possible for the agency to offer a more extensively supervised program.

In the summer of 1966, 270 enrollees were added to 470 regular recreation department employees. Since enrollees worked only half-time they represented close to 25% of the staff. If effectiveness of the recreation program could be equated to the size of its staff, N.Y.C. would have added 25% to the impact of the program. Recreation program effectiveness, however, is not simply a function of supervision. Recreational facilities (playgrounds, equipment, etc.) are obviously also of great importance. It is also hazardous to assume that all staff members are equally effective. It is likely that enrollee contributions were generally not as important as those of playground leaders. The time which the playground leaders spent supervising enrollees also detracted from the time they could spend in directing actual playground activities.

Enrollees are used extensively both by Milwaukee County Hospital and the Veteran's Administration Hospital. In both cases enrollees are used in a variety of capacities within the facility. Enrollees are assigned to such areas as nursing, food service, printing, research, personnel, physical therapy, switchboard, receiving and so on. During the summer of 1966 approximately 175 enrollees were employed at the V. A. Hospital. Overall more than two thousand persons are regularly employed at the hospital. Since enrollees were half-time employees they made up something less than 5% of the hospital's total work force. From the perspective of the V. A.'s personnel department, enrollees provide important, basic services for the general hospital operation. As a result of a federal economy directive, the hospital has experienced a cutback in personnel. Neighborhood Youth Corps enrollees have been helpful in easing the burden on the remaining permanent staff. The contribution of enrollees during the summer was great enough that personnel officials were concerned with the effect of the reduction in

their numbers and hours which would take place when the new school year began. Hospital officials would probably be reluctant to admit that the absence of enrollees would adversely effect the ability of the hospital to provide essential services. At the same time, it does appear to be the case that enrollees are making a significant although by no means dramatic contribution to the overall services offered by two important Milwaukee area hospitals.

In most of the smaller agencies to which they are assigned, enrollees perform general office work. In one agency, the Spanish Speaking Center, it was originally hoped that enrollees could supervise play activities for younger children. When their performance in this area was judged inadequate, they were shifted to office work. The agency is well pleased with their work in this area. In ways which defy measurement, the contributions of the enrollees probably enable these agencies to serve their public somewhat more effectively.

One of the Inner City Development Project centers has been using an enrollee to bring teenagers into the office. The director is satisfied that this enrollee is reaching a number of problem youth who otherwise would not be served.

Where enrollees have been assigned to duties which are part of the normal operating activities of an agency, their contribution is generally thought to more than compensate the agency for the supervision it provides. This would imply that enrollees make it possible for the agency to offer improved services to its public. Social service organizations, however, typically neither define their mission with any precision nor do they carefully assess their effectiveness. In this context no more than a crude estimate is possible of the implications of staff additions -- whether or not they are N.Y.C. enrollees -- for the agency's services to the public.

Special Projects

N.Y.C. enrollees in Milwaukee have been engaged in two special projects which are such that the product of enrollee activity is distinctly visible. The recreation department has assigned male enrollees to a conservation project in a small park, Hawthorne Glen. It is one of two parks owned by the school system. Much of the park area is taken up by a rather steep wooded bluff. At the bottom of the bluff is a flat area with playing fields and a pavilion constructed during the Depression as a W.P.A. project. The permanent park attendent is able to maintain only the developed areas in the valley. The park is used as a site for the recreation department's Tepee program, a summer day camp for young children. As a result of decades of neglect, the park bluffs had eroded seriously and its trails had deteriorated. The condition of the park was such that there was concern that it would have to be abandoned. Through the efforts of N.Y.C. enrollees, the park has been saved. By building a series of retaining walls, enrollees have reclaimed the hillside. They have also improved and extended the nature trails used by youngsters attending the summer day camp.

Availability of N.Y.C. enrollees has enabled the public schools to conduct a summer library reading room program in public grade schools. For the first time the schools were able to make their library facilities available to neighborhood children during the summer months. N.Y.C. enrollees have been assigned to library rooms in various grade schools. It is their responsibility to maintain the room and supervise the children using the facility. In its first year of operation the program was conducted in twenty schools by forty-four enrollees supervised by two teachers. According to a report of the program directors, 26,251 books were circulated among 22,120 attending youngsters in a ten week period. The program was more extensive in scope in the summer of 1966.

In these two cases, N.Y.C. enrollees were instrumental in the extension of an agency's services to the public. It should be recognized, however, that both were low priority projects for the sponsoring agency. Even though the improvement in services was clearly regarded as desirable, the projects had not been important enough for the agencies to support with their own funds. The contribution of these N.Y.C. facilitated special projects might be characterized as welcome but nonessential.

In this chapter an attempt has been made to suggest the effects of N.Y.C. on the community through its impact on the organizations involved in its work flow. Attention has been given to the implications of N.Y.C. for the agencies internal operations and their ability to serve the community. In the next chapter the effects of N.Y.C. will be viewed from the perspective of community concerns with youth and poverty.

CHAPTER V - EFFECTS OF N.Y.C. ON THE COMMUNITY:

2) IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY MANAGEMENT OF YOUTH-POVERTY PROBLEMS

Various forms of youth behavior and a number of manifestations of poverty are continuing community problems. Deficient school attendance and achievement, delinquency, and youth unemployment are serious sources of concern on the part of the adult community. Similarly public dependency and racial conflict are poverty-related conditions of persistent public concern. The possibility that the Neighborhood Youth Corps might have some relevance for the community's efforts to cope with some of these problems will be considered in this chapter.

School Attendance and Achievement

Young persons who hope to be adequately prepared for adult life are currently thought to need at least a full high school education. A significant proportion of young persons, however, fail to achieve up to this minimum standard. Failure to complete high school is usually the product of a developmental pattern which includes frequent absence from school and inferior academic performance. It is no secret that the incidence of problematic school attendance and achievement is particularly great among young persons from low income families.

Wisconsin law which requires young persons to stay in school at least until they reach their eighteenth birthday keeps these youth enrolled until such time that they would ordinarily graduate. The fact that a student is enrolled in school does not always imply that he attends regularly. Truancy is, in fact, a major problem in Milwaukee's inner city schools. In one such Milwaukee school, the welfare worker estimates that each year more than twenty per cent of the students are referred to him for truancy at one time or another during the school year. Truants may be referred to the children's court for punitive action, but the process leading to adjudication is administratively complex. Where it is used, there is little reason to believe that court action would improve a student's vitally-important attitude toward education.

N.Y.C. would seem to have potential as a positive device to encourage marginal students to attend school regularly. School officials do, in fact, cite cases in which the program has been spectacularly effective in reorienting once truant students. In some such cases school representatives have taken the initiative in bringing students into the program. It is made clear to students that if they want to participate they must attend school regularly. In some of these cases there has been a significant improvement in school performance.

Cases in which the N.Y.C. experience has transformed a hostile student into a cooperative student are probably rather exceptional. Since student interest and initiative have played a considerable role in admission to the in-school N.Y.C. program, it is likely that those with histories of truancy are under-represented in the program. To the extent that school officials have had a preference for reliable student assistants, it is likely that a somewhat greater effort has been made to bring cooperative students into N.Y.C. The student who is often absent is less likely to know of the program. Further, if he is informed of the program, it is not unreasonable for him to think that he would not be admitted. In schools which abide by the traditional school board rules governing part-time work, students with truancy records and academic problems are automatically ineligible for N.Y.C.

Juvenile Delinquency

Delinquency is a related problem for which N.Y.C. may have some relevance. Young persons whose behavior is a matter for concern of law enforcement officials more often than not have a history of problematic dealings with school personnel. Traditionally the highest rates of adjudicated delinquency occur among male youth from low income families. With its emphasis on employment, the program, in effect, orients young persons to look to conventional rather than deviant means to realize adult goals.

If it is to be effective in curbing delinquency, an N.Y.C. project must attract delinquency-prone youth. While the Milwaukee in-school program includes a number of young persons who might be classified as potential delinquents, it is likely that among those eligible, predelinquents are under-represented in the program. Delinquent young persons are usually antagonistic towards school and its programs -- including N.Y.C. They may also lack the sustained self-discipline required for any steady job. The predominance of females in Milwaukee's in-school N.Y.C. program suggests also that the males who are most often potential delinquents are not often involved in the program. The recruitment of predelinquents into N.Y.C. is clearly essential if the program is to be an important tool in preventing juvenile crime.

Also of possible relevance for delinquency control is the contribution of enrollees to the municipal recreation department's playground and social center program. These recreation programs have long been thought to have some relevance for delinquency prevention. To the extent that this laregly untested hypothesis is valid, that which enrollees do to strengthen the playgrounds and social center programs may help to limit delinquency rates.

N.Y.C. also has potential utility as a device for the management of juvenile offenders and young adult offenders on probation or parole. In the case of the in-school program, there is reason again to believe that students with a juvenile record are less likely than other eligible students to be in the program. Students who have been institutionalized ordinarily make only a marginal adjustment when they return to an academic

high school. Usually a special effort would be required to bring them into a program like N.Y.C. No systema tic effort has been made by probation and parole officers to seek the admission of their eligible clients to the in-school N.Y.C. program. Probation and parole agents burdened with heavy case loads tend to limit their concern to law violations and school attendance. Ordinarilly their involvement does not extend to the kind of less immediate career guidance which might incline them to promote N.Y.C. The fact that an effort is made to obscure the identity of juvenile offenders probably tends to limit the number of these youth recruited to N.Y.C.

In the case of the out-of-school program a substantial (although unspecified) proportion of enrollees have criminal records. As suggested previously, employment opportunities in Milwaukee are currently such that only those with some serious personal shortcoming are unable to find work. A criminal record may be one such source of employment problems. There is no hesitation on the part of the out-of-school program officials to bring young persons with records into N.Y.C. The general failure of the out-of-school program to attract males, however, limits its usefulness as a device for rehabilitating youthful offenders.

Youth Unemployment

A general shortage of information on the extent to which youth unemployment is currently a problem in Milwaukee makes any discussion of the relevance of N.Y.C. for that area extremely difficult. The State Employment Service's monthly employment estimates do not include a special category for youth. Agency personnel who have some contact with out-of-school youth in low income areas suggest generally that while jobs are more readily available now than they have been in the past, there are still considerable numbers of young persons -- particularly males -- who are not working.

Since there is currently a persistent demand in the city for unskilled workers, youth unemployment requires some explanation. An initial question might be raised as to the extent to which non-working youth actually seek employment. It seems reasonable to hypothesize that they view their lack of work as less of a problem than do middle class adults. Unemployed youth are often fussy about the kind of work they will accept. Negro youth, for example, are said to reject menial service jobs open to them. They often refuse to accept positions as filling station attendents or kitchen helpers. If the wages offered are unattractive, they may also refuse to work. Where the young person is willing to take a job, he may be unacceptable to an employer. Some employers prefer to leave positions unfilled rather than to accept a high-risk employee. Some non-working youth have obtained jobs in the past but failed to stay with them perhaps because of a conflict with an employer over regularity in attendance or performance on-the-job.

The small number of male youth served by the out-of-school N.Y.C. program suggests that the project is not substantially making an impact on this problem group. The lack of rapport with agencies like the Youth Opportunity Center, disinterest in working for as little $1.25 per hour, dislike

for menial labor, and reluctance to accept the discipline required for steady employment probably all contribute to keep nonworking male youth out of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Even though two-thirds of the enrollees in the out-of-school program are females, under enployment of females over eighteen is less of a problem than male unemployment. Early marriage and pregnancy which are common in low income areas tend to remove girls from the labor market. Among low income Negroes, females are more mature than their male counterparts. They are more aggressive in seeking employment, more compromising in accepting work assignments, and more reliable in their on-the-job performance. Correspondingly females are more acceptable to employers. The more favorable predisposition of these young women toward employment probably accounts in large part for their greater utilization of N.Y.C. opportunities.

Supervisors generally indicate that the N.Y.C. experience is leading to an improvement in the work habits of enrollees. Some who enter the program as marginally employable leave well qualified for permanent employment. Others develop basic work habits and are reoriented to recognize the value of further education. While it appears to be the case that the out-of-school program is permanently improving the employability of the limited number of young persons it serves, the program has not been in operation long enough for any firm assessments to be made.

In the case of the in-school program, N.Y.C. is serving persons who are not yet part of the community's permanent labor market. The relevance of this program for youth unemployment is largely of a preventative nature. To the extent that the program leads youth to improve their school performance and develop work habits it may reduce future youth unemployment.

There is no question that N.Y.C. is highly welcome as part-time and temporary summer work for high school students. The community ordinarily does not come close to absorbing the many students who seek employment. Many if not most of those in the in-school program would not otherwise be employed.

Skilled Manpower Shortages

Whether N.Y.C. can help Milwaukee increase its supply of skilled workers remains an open question. The Neighborhood Youth Corps experience by itself is not enough to make a young person a skilled worker. If the program is to alleviate skill shortages, it is necessary that enrollees go on to obtain more formal education or specific skill training. Since the placement phase of both Milwaukee programs is still in a formative stage, it does not seem meaningful to speculate now on the long term effects of the program on the community's supply of skilled labor.

Economic Prosperity

While it could not be expected that Milwaukee's Neighborhood Youth Corps projects would make a significant impact on the economy of the metropolitan area, it is possible that the program contributes something in the way of economic pump priming in the inner-city areas. Unfortunately the current study provides no basis for an estimate of the general economic implications of the program. No reliable information is available on the manner in which enrollees use their earnings. Neither the extent to which the money is contributed for general family use, patterns of personal spending, nor the extent to which earnings are saved is known. With respect to enrollees expenditures, no satisfactory way is available to estimate the extent to which the money is spent in the inner-city and supports business and employment in that sector of the community. Any attempt to estimate N.Y.C. effects on the basis of general economic data would be hazardous because the program represents only one of many developments with potential implications for the local economy.

Public Dependence

The Neighborhood Youth Corps may have relevance for the community's interest in minimizing its expeditures for public assistance. A third of the young women in the out-of-school program have been unwed mothers usually receiving support under the aid-to-dependent children program. To the extent that the program eventually makes it possible for these young women to obtain suitable fulltime employment, it can remove them from public assistance. Both the in-school and out-of-school programs may have some relevance for the control of illegitimate births which lead to public dependence. The N.Y.C. experience may help girls develop greater self respect, sensitivity to general community values, and/or personal sophistication which may, in turn, help them to avoid extra-marital pregnancy. If the program can help young men to develop a more responsible attitude toward work, there may also be long-term implications for public assistance. More satisfactory employment experiences for males may lead to greater marital stability. Fewer women may have to resort to public assistance for the support of their families. During the summer of 1966, the Milwaukee County Welfare Department announced that the number of persons receiving public assistance had dropped to its lowest level in six years. Some of this decline may be attributable to training programs like N.Y.C.

Race Relations

To the extent that N.Y.C. involves Negro young persons it may facilitate their economic and social assimilation into the community. Deficiencies in work-relevant skills contribute substantially to the inferior economic status of Negroes. At least at present, Negroes with acceptable work habits and skills are absorbed by Milwaukee employers. To the extent that the Neighborhood Youth Corps helps young Negroes to develop improved work habits and attitudes and encourages them to develop specific work skills, it will aid in the removal of one important obstacle

to the fuller assimilation of Negroes in communities like Milwaukee. Whether the Neighborhood Youth Corps and other federal work-training programs will have this long-range effect obviously cannot yet be known. It might be noted that attempts to place Negro enrollees have not been coordinated with the efforts of the Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Committee to place more Negroes in better jobs.

Of immediate community concern is the possibility of rioting and violence on the part of Negroes. Young persons are known to be among the most vigorous participants in such outbursts. Participation in the Neighborhood Youth Corps might eliminate some of the idleness and boredom which are thought to make young persons particularly vulnerable to violence. Milwaukee has had no Negro rioting before or after the introduction of the Neighborhood Youth Corps. In the summer of 1966, demonstrations by young Negro civil rights activists in a white suburb almost led to violence, but it was the behavior of white spectators which threatened to become unmanageable. The vast majority of the white youth who might have attacked the Negro demonstrators were probably economically ineligible for N.Y.C. The over-representation of females in Milwaukee's N.Y.C. program also suggests that the program tends not to involve potential riot participants.

Interracial contacts in a work setting resulting from N.Y.C. may promote greater mutual understanding for the persons directly involved. Through their work assignments, Negro enrollees may be exposed to the dominant white world more fully than ever before. The experience may demonstrate to both the Negro and white persons involved that satisfactory relationships between whites and Negroes are possible at least in a work setting. Feelings of estrangement and mistrust on both sides may be reduced. If the experience, however, leads young Negroes to be highly optimistic over the possibility of their living in a fully integrated society, the inevitable disappointment may ultimately add to their frustration and alienation. It should be noted that N.Y.C. does not challenge the traditional pattern in which Negroes are assigned to subordinate work positions. Available work assignments also give Negro males less basis for optimism over their occupational future than they do Negro females.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps has not helped to satisfy the interest of Negro leaders for involvement in development of anti-poverty programs. N.Y.C. was not developed in Milwaukee in response to any concern with problems expressed by indigenous citizen groups. The proposals were submitted for approval to the Economic Opportunity Board of Milwaukee's Community Action Program before representatives of the poor were included.

Negro spokesmen further object to the fact that many of the programs are administrated by agencies which they consider unfriendly to them. Of greatest concern is the public school system which sponsors a number of anti-poverty programs including, of course, an N.Y.C. project. The greatest single concern of Negro leaders in the area of education is de facto segregation of public schools. They are engaged in a bitter conflict with a school board whose majority does not admit that racial imbalance is a problem. The federally supported compensatory education

program in which they include N.Y.C. is not regarded as an acceptable alternative to integrated education. In view of the School Board's insensitivity to racial problems, Negro leaders also question the ability or willingness of the schools to administer anti-poverty programs properly.

A number of anti-poverty proposals submitted to the Economic Opportunity Board by the School Board after representatives of the poor have been included have met with considerable resistance. There is strong reason to believe that the basis for objection was less the content of the proposals than their School Board sponsorship.

Improved race relations depend greatly on the relief of Negro frustrations. The success of current federal efforts would seem to be partially dependent on the support of Negro leaders and their subsequent interpretation of these programs to the Negro masses. The Neighborhood Youth Corps and other federal programs have clearly failed to gain the full support of Negro leaders. To the extent that their full support is necessary for the containment and channeling of Negro discontent, the federal programs are not realizing their full potential.

There is a possibility that anti-poverty programs like the Neighborhood Youth Corps which in fact provide opportunities primarily for Negroes may increase the racial antagonism of white persons in lower-middle income categories. They are likely to resent the fact that their taxes are being used to provide Negroes with special benefits they never enjoyed. For some of these economically insecure persons, work-training programs are developing the skills of Negroes with whom they may eventually compete for scarce jobs. The fact that the Neighborhood Youth Corps is not widely known in Milwaukee probably helps to minimize the extent to which it might increase the hostility of those who fear Negro economic advancement.

Organization of Community Services

To this point consideration has been given to the possible implications of the Neighborhood Youth Corps for a variety of specific community problems. The discussion has by no means been exhaustive; N.Y.C. may have relevance for community problems beyond those considered here. The program may, for example, also have relevance for public health in that enrollee physical examinations may indicate serious health problems and enrollee work performance may do something to improve the services of two hospitals which do much to care for the health of the indigent in the community.

In the final section of this chapter attention will be directed to a more general problem -- the implications of the program for the organization of community services. A community's ability to deal affectively with specific problems is likely to depend on its recognition of relationships among problem areas. Coordination among social service agencies may contribute to the community's effectiveness in coping with its diverse problems.

Through its contracts with individual agencies the Neighborhood Youth Corps effectively avoids dependence on central community coordinating organizations. While approval of the community's anti-poverty organization is suggested, it is not required. Given the difficulty of obtaining effective organization of services, implementation of a Neighborhood Youth Corps project is probably facilitated by its more pragmatic approach. The continuation of anti-poverty projects which are bound to a community action program are currently in jeopardy in Milwaukee because of turmoil in the Social Development Commission. It should be noted, however, that the operation of Milwaukee's out-of-school Neighborhood Youth Corps program is hampered by lack of coordination among agencies. Its recruitment problems are partially attributable to the fact that scattered and independent youth-serving agencies are not fully aware of N.Y.C. The sponsor would find it easier to provide supplementary services to enrollees if he had an effective "built in" tie with other community agencies.

Federal agencies are currently sponsoring a variety of programs for which interested local agencies are urged to apply. Because of a shortage of funds on a local level for new programs, community agencies are eager to apply for federal funds. A fragmented approach on the part of Washington agencies encourages the continuation of patterns of loose coordination on a local level. Indirectly, no encouragement is given to communities to make an overall assessment of their problems and seek federal aid according to a priority based on local needs.

At best it can be said that the Neighborhood Youth Corps has stimulated limited voluntary cooperation among some local agencies. Through its pragmatic sidestepping of local planning and coordinating efforts, it has added slightly to the bewildering character of the configuration of loosely related services available to Milwaukeeans.

CHAPTER VI - SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Exploration of the possible implications of the Neighborhood Youth Corps for a community was defined as the objective of the present study. Because of its accessibility, Milwaukee, Wisconsin was chosen as the specific community to serve as the site for the inquiry. The interdependence suggested by the concept community led to the expectation that the consequences of an intervention program like the Neighborhood Youth Corps for an area like Milwaukee are highly diverse. The potential complexity of the subject matter and the limitation of research resources made it necessary that this be defined strictly as an exploratory study.

Because program effects might be a function of community characteristics, some consideration of general background information about Milwaukee was necessary. A simple cause and effect model was considered inadequate for the study. It was assumed that local program operations could not be predicted adequately on the basis of federal specifications. Program effects would be highly dependent on the particular manner in which Milwaukee institutions interpreted the program concept. Effects of the program on organizations involved in the work flow might also influence program operations. Hence, it was necessary that local program operations be considered in some detail.

Two approaches to the study of the effect of N.Y.C. on the community were developed: 1) implications of the program for the internal and external operations of organizations involved in its work flow and 2) implications of the program for specific problems in the youth and poverty areas.

Milwaukee was characterized as a heavily industrialized and rather prosperous community. The area has a reputation for honest and efficient government. Political power and the functions of government are shared by several independent governmental units. Reflecting the community's prosperity and its confidence in its social services institutions, poverty had not been defined as a major issue in Milwaukee. The community's participation in the federal anti-poverty program has been hampered by problems of coordination among agencies and conflicts over the role of indigenous groups in program development. Milwaukee's much-expanded Negro population and the aggressiveness of civil rights activists have made race relations a major community problem. Most of the city's institutions have responded indifferently to Negro charges of discrimination. Negro assertiveness has brought a hostile reaction from much of the white population. At least in some sectors, there is great concern over possible consequence of mounting Negro frustration.

Neighborhood Youth Corps programs are sponsored in Milwaukee by two representatives of the area's traditional "establishment": the Milwaukee Board of School Directors and Milwaukee County government. The School Board's program which is designed for in-school youth has been in operation since the Spring of 1965. The program has regularly come close to filling its enrollee quotas which have run as high as 650. Approximately two-thirds of those participating have been females. Although no local records are kept on racial composition, it is safe to assume that a substantial proportion of enrollees are Negro. Among students from low income families, those young persons who are relatively cooperative and who tend to identify with the goals of the schools are probably overrepresented in the program. Work opportunities are available not only in the schools; many enrollees are assigned to the local Veterans Administration hospital and the Milwaukee Department of Municipal Recreation.

The county N.Y.C. program, designed for out-of-school youth, accepted its first enrollees in January 1966. From the outset difficulties have been encountered in recruiting enrollees. Even after the program's quota was cut from 300 to 150, available positions were not filled. A low general unemployment rate and a new state law requiring school attendance to age eighteen were two important factors limiting recruitment. The county sponsor is highly dependent on other agencies for recruiting. The youth opportunity center and the county's welfare department are particularly important. Two-thirds of those enrolled in the out-of-school program have been females. Of these, half were unwed mothers. Two-thirds of the enrollees have also been Negro. Out-of-school enrollees have been placed primarily in various units of county government. Most enrollees have been assigned to positions as nurses aids, clerical aids, and park aids. The program has not been in operation long enough for any distinct post N.Y.C. placement pattern to have developed.

Among the effects of N.Y.C. on the internal operations of agencies involved in its work flow, political implications have been negligible. The program appears to be little known in the community; elected officials and top administrators have not received any reactions from the general public. Administratively, the program has made its presence felt. Operation of both programs has been more complex than anticipated. Since neither sponsor is fully compensated for his administrative costs, the continued support of the program depends highly in the sponsors' commitment to the objectives of the program.

For those recruiting for N.Y.C., it was suggested that the effect of the program is highly dependent on the recruiter's own orientation. For some school welfare workers, case workers, and Y.O.C. counsellors, N.Y.C. is a highly-welcome, positive tool which assists them in working with young persons. The recruiter who is preoccupied with the processing of applications may realize little more than that his job has been made more complicated by the introduction of the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Organizations providing work sites for enrollees have generally been pleased with their performance. In most cases enrollees have made a better adjustment than expected. The contributions of enrollees through their job performance reportedly tend to outweigh greatly the costs of their

supervision. For the Veterans Administration hospital, in particular, involvement with an N.Y.C. program has proved to be a useful device in recruiting permanent employees. The presence of enrollees has not created unmanageable problems with unions. The N.Y.C. wage rate has generally been compatible with wage schedules for regular employees.

Since enrollees may contribute to the output of the agencies to which they are assigned, they may aid that organization in its attempts to address some set of community problems. In most cases, Milwaukee enrollees have been assigned to assist with ordinary work of an agency. Public and private service agencies usually find themselves understaffed. Additional employees are readily absorbed. Enrollees have made themselves particularly helpful in assisting with routine office work. In the case of hospital and playground assignments, enrollees have also provided direct services to the public. Apparently enrollees tend to make these agencies slightly more effective in serving the public.

Enrollees have enabled the schools and the recreation department to carry out two special projects. Summer reading programs in public elementary schools and a conservation project in a school-owned park would not have been undertaken except for N.Y.C. From the perspective of the sponsoring agencies, these projects are worthwhile but of marginal importance in the context of overall operations.

Among the community youth problems for which N.Y.C. might have some relevance are school attendance and achievement, juvenile delinquency, and youth unemployment. Although N.Y.C. apparently does not widely serve the severely alienated youth who are often chronic truants and juvenile offenders, the program is regarded as useful by school officials in improving the attendance, performance, and behavior of mildly problematic youth. The concentration of youth behavior problems among males and the over-representation of females in Milwaukee N.Y.C. programs suggest that the projects are not directly geared to serving problem youth. While the out-of-school program at least temporarily reduces youth unemployment, its effectiveness is limited by its recruiting deficiencies. Estimates of the program's relevance for this problem area are handicapped by the inadequate information on youth unemployment and uncertainty over the long-term effects of N.Y.C. participation. The program is clearly useful in providing high school students with part-time and summer employment.

The study provides little basis for estimating the programs' implications for either skilled manpower shortages or the general economic condition of the community. Again both the scarcity of data and the newness of the program hinder meaningful discussion.

The fact that the program serves many unwed mothers and other young women who might eventually share that plight suggests that N.Y.C. may have important implications for public dependency. If the program leads to permanent employment, it can remove or prevent some of the need for public assistance.

To the extent that Negro poverty and employment problems are at the root of problematic race relations, the program may contribute to the eventual assimilation of Negroes into the larger society. N.Y.C., however, has not contributed visibly to the management of immediate racial tensions in Milwaukee. Neither Milwaukee program appeals greatly to frustrated and impatient young Negro males. Since the programs were developed and are conducted by agencies from which Negro leaders feel excluded, N.Y.C. does not respond to the desire of adult Negroes for participation in community affairs of concern to them. Sponsorship of an N.Y.C. project by a school board which is seen by Negro leaders to be committed to a policy which promotes de facto segregation also makes it difficult for these spokesmen to see the Neighborhood Youth Corps as a symbol of hope for Negroes.

By contracting directly with specific community agencies, N.Y.C. sidesteps many of the problems associated with the organization of community services. It does less to promote planning and coordination on a local level than do federal programs tied to an effective community action program. The Neighborhood Youth Corps in Milwaukee both contributes to and suffers from the relative disorganization of community services.

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It is hoped that the present study has contributed on a conceptual level to the identification of the variables which mu t be measured if the full effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on a community are to be understood. The implications of the program for Milwaukee suggested here are no more than hypotheses. To the extent that definitive data on program consequences are desired, rigorous testing of the hypotheses developed here is necessary. The diversity of the potential effects of the program on the community suggests that a study which would hope to be both comprehensive and conclusive would necessarily be a substantial undertaking. It would involve a series of inquiries each of which would be rather complex. A few suggestions regarding the direction of subsequent research efforts might be made on the basis of the present study.

A macroscopic approach to the study of the community effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps is feasible but not likely to yield fully satisfactory results. Incidence rates of truancy, high school completion, juvenile delinquency, youth unemployment, rioting and so on could be compared before and after the introduction of N.Y.C. to a community. If that approach proved at all fruitful, comparisons of effects among communities might be attempted on the basis of such indices as size, racial composition, median income, general unemployment and so on. A number of factors are likely to limit the utility of that approach. The validity and reliability of available macroscopic data are often highly questionable. To the extent that they contain errors, their sensitivity as measurement devices is diminished. The Neighborhood Youth Corps is only one of many forces which might be expected to contribute to change within a community. At least in Milwaukee the program appears to play such a minor role in the overall configuration of youth-poverty relevant community services that its contribution might well be indistinguishable in macroscopic behavioral indices. The contribution

to program effects which result from the particular manner in which the Neighborhood Youth Corps concept is interpreted by local sponsors would also detract from the yield of studies based on the comparison of community characteristics.

The present study points to the utility of systematic research on the Neighborhood Youth Corps recruitment process. Any effects of the program are necessarily dependent on the characteristics of the young persons who participate. A general survey of youth from low income families would show the extent to which the program serves youth whose behavior is problematic and those who are attitudinally alienated from the institutions of the dominant society. In the case of out-of-school youth, general survey data would be particularly valuable. Little systematic information is available on their activity patterns, employment expectations, or receptivity to programs like N.Y.C.

Comprehensive research on the effects of the program on organizations involved in the work flow would require careful observation of the internal operations of organizations before and after the introduction of the program. Success of this research would depend greatly on the cooperation of the agencies to be studied. They would have to agree to have their activities monitored over an extended period of time, make their internal records fully available, and cooperate with requests for precise specifications of their objectives. The effects of the program on schools, the Youth Opportunity Center, the welfare department, organizations providng work sites, and potential future employers might be investigated in this fashion. The organizational analyses suggested here would require extensive research staff resources. Agency cooperation could not be taken for granted. It should be recognized that agency operatives are usually more willing to have their clients investigated than to allow themselves to be the object of inquiry.

Long-term effects of the program on problematic youth behavior can best be known through longitudinal studies of program participants. At a minimum, careful follow-up research on the behavior of those exposed to the program is necessary. Such research would, of course, be much stronger if a control group could be included for comparative purposes.

Since many of the youth and the social agencies who might be effected by N.Y.C. are also in a position to be influenced by other youth-relevant federal anti-poverty programs, coordination with research on effects of other federal programs might be useful. In come cases N.Y.C. by itself may have some impact on a community problem area. In other cases, N.Y.C. may be relevant to a community only in a context in which it is combined with another federal program. Rates of college attendance among low income youth, for example, may increase only among those who participate both in Neighborhood Youth Corps and Upward Bound. Where federal programs mesh or overlap, an integrated research approach would clearly be useful.

What is suggested here is a series of studies which would provide more adequate data on the extent to which "problem youth" are attracted

to the program and on the consequencies of the program for the young persons and organizations involved. From the findings of this configuration of studies might emerge a more adequate picture of the effects of the Neighborhood Youth Corps on a community.

APPENDIX

LISTING OF PERSONS INTERVIEWED

Mr. Ray Alexander
Community Relations Director
Northtown Planning & Development Council

Mr. Lloyd Barbee
Chairman, Milwaukee United School Integration Committee
Member, Wisconsin State Legislature
Past President, Milwaukee Branch NAACP

Rev. Eugene Bleidhorn
Pastor, Saint Boniface Church

Mr. Frank Cavada
Department of Public Welfare

Mr. John Daniels
Personnel Assistant, Veteran's Administration Hospital

Mr. Kenneth Deal
Director, Department of Work and Training Projects
Director, N.Y.C. Out-of-School Project, Milwaukee County

Mr. John Doyne
County Executive, Milwaukee County

Mr. Andrew Dunar
Principal, Lincoln High School

Mr. Gerard Farley
Director, Department of Federal Projects
Director, N.Y.C. In-School Project
Milwaukee Board of School Directors

Mr. Anton Faupl
Supervisor, Milwaukee Department of Municipal Recreation

Mr. William Fischer
Director, Youth Opportunity Center

Mr. John Foley
President, Milwaukee Board of School Directors

Mr. Curt Gear
Acting Director, Social Development Commission

Mr. Joseph Greco
County Supervisor, Milwaukee County

Rev. James Groppi
Advisor, NAACP Youth Council

Mr. Melvin Hall
Director, Inner City Development Project North

Mr. Walter Jones
Editor, The Milwaukee Star

Mr. Andrew Karolzak
Conservation Supervisor, Hawthorne Glen
Milwaukee Department of Municipal Recreation

Mr. Ralph Lowrey
Department of Federal Porjects, Milwaukee Board of School Directors

Mr. Thomas Lukomski
School Social Worker, South Division High School

Mr. Willet Main
Director, Wisconsin State Employment Service

Rev. Gil Marrero
Youth Director, Milwaukee Christian Center

Rev. John Maurice
Director, Spanish Speaking Center

Marcia Northhouse
Caseworker, Department of Public Welfare

Mr. George Pazik
Administrative Coordinator, Milwaukee Voluntary Equal Employment Opportunity Committee
Director, Northtown Planning & Development Council

Mr. Otto Pettersen
Community and Employment Relations Coordinator
Youth Opportunity Center

Mr. Richard Piskula
Director of Personnel Training
Department of Public Welfare

Mrs. Justine Reeves
School Social Worker, Lincoln High School

Mr. Harold Sectig
Guidance Counselor, Riverside High School

Mr. Donald Shebesta
N.Y.C. School Representative, West Division High School

Mrs. J. Smith
Lead Counsellor, Youth Opportunity Center

Mr. Robert Stolhand
Chief Probation Officer
Children's Court, Milwaukee County

Miss M. Shadd
N.Y.C. Liason
Youth Opportunity Center

Estella Stone
Assistant to Principal, South Division

Mr. Harold Vincent
Superintendent of Schools, Milwaukee

Rev. Lucius Walker
Director, Northcott Neighborhood House

Mr. Robert Washington
Guidance Counsellor, Continuation School
Milwaukee Vocational School

Margaret Weiss
School Social Worker, Bay View High School

Mr. George Wilson
Assistant Director, Milwaukee Department of Municipal Recreation

Mr. Norwall Winnik
Personnel Director, Veteran's Administration Hospital

Ruth Wright
School Social Worker, North Division High School.